

# The Nation

VOL. XLV.--NO. 1159.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1887.

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# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1887.

## The Week.

THE letter which Mr. Oberly, acting as President of the Civil-Service Commission, has sent to the Chairman of the Civil-Service Board of Examiners for the Cincinnati Post-office, is a very creditable and timely document. It sets forth very clearly and forcibly the intent of the Civil-Service Law in regard to removals for political reasons. Mr. Oberly cites the provisions of the law, and concludes:

(1.) That it is unlawful to ask an applicant for appointment under the Civil-Service Law to divulge his political opinions or affiliations.

(2.) That if the appointing officer ascertain in any way what are the political opinions or affiliations of any applicant for appointment, it is unlawful in him to therefore either discriminate in the applicant's favor or against him; that it is unlawful in the appointing officer to appoint an eligible for the reason that he is or is not a Democrat, or to refuse to appoint an eligible for the reason that he is or is not a Republican, and vice-versa.

(3.) That it is unlawful to remove any person from the public service for refusing to render political service.

This is the very essence of the law as it was designed by its authors. The object sought above all others was to remove entirely the question of political faith, and allow the applicant to gain his position through merit alone, and to retain it on the same basis. The appointing officer who allows political faith to influence him either in the selection or removal of subordinates, violates the law, and is liable to the penalty, which is removal from office. A few applications of that penalty would break up the abuse very quickly.

In disagreeable contrast to these straightforward utterances of Mr. Oberly are some views which are attributed to another member of the Commission, Mr. Edgerton, in a talk with a *Tribune* reporter. Mr. Edgerton adheres to his position in the Chicago case, that subordinates can be removed without specified cause, attacks the various civil-service reform organizations in different cities as "political organizations" designed for "political effect," and then says of the Commission of which he is a member: "The Commission has no power. The Commissioners are simply onlookers. There is no punishment provided under the law for a violation of its provisions, except removal by the President. There has been no case where the President has removed a person as a result of any investigation by the Commission. Their investigations, therefore, have simply been notices to the public that they are trying to do something." We advise the President to consider that remarkable deliverance carefully. It is clear from it, as it has been from previous remarks from the same source, that Mr. Edgerton has no sympathy for civil-service reform, and has no other ostensible purpose upon the Commission than to belittle its work.

Gen. Corse, the Boston Postmaster, has treated the Smelling Committee of spoils Democrats as unceremoniously as Mr. Saltonstall did. He

referred them to the Postmaster General at Washington for the information they were seeking. Gen. Corse gives an interesting account of the controversy he has had with the Democratic bosses in Massachusetts, and it is very evident that they have found more than their match in him. He says he entered upon his duties with the intention of "running the office as a business concern is conducted, of getting all I could for the Government I have sworn to serve, and, if possible, to make it the best post-office in the country." That was a laudable ambition, and everybody who is familiar with the General's record as a soldier need not be told that the resolve once taken was not to be changed by either coaxing or bullying from any source. He tells the story of his tussle with his party, and we commend it to the careful perusal of everybody, and especially of Jeffersonian Democrats. The outcome of his course, as he puts it, is that "I have the business interests of Boston at my back, just as President Cleveland has the business interests of the country very largely behind him, regardless of party lines."

When the Democratic bosses discovered that the General had this formidable backing, they began to say that the President did not approve his course, in order to justify themselves for their unwise conduct. This did not affect the Postmaster any more than the previous threats, and it certainly did not deceive the public. What the Independents think of the whole controversy, both with the Collector and Postmaster, is shown by an interview which is published with one of them, Mr. Winslow Warren. He says that the action of the Democratic State Committee in sending out the Smelling Committee "is deserving only of contempt," and has had the natural effect of making the Independents disinclined to support the Democrats in the approaching State campaign. This disinclination is offset by an "unwillingness to take any course which would seem to show disapproval of the President, for, according to Mr. Warren, the Massachusetts Independents, "as a body, and with very few if any exceptions, are as thoroughly in favor of President Cleveland as they were in 1884." They think "he has done as well as any man could do," and "prefer to support him until a better man and a more perfect enforcement of civil-service reform is offered." For these reasons Mr. Warren thinks that whatever the Independents do this year "will be done with regard to 1888 rather than 1887."

Ex Gov. Washburn of Massachusetts is a painfully unorthodox Republican, and is in danger of being read out of the party. He says of the Republican proposition to reduce the surplus by taking the taxes off whiskey and tobacco: "The duties on the necessities of life should be taken off as far as possible. The internal revenue duties on liquors and tobacco should not be reduced a penny. These articles should be taxed as high as possible." That is

pretty serious, but what follows is so much more so that we do not see how it can be condoned.

"I am a Republican still, and shall probably remain so all my life, but I am free to say that Mr. Cleveland has made a capable and honest President. He has made good appointments and bad appointments, but the pressure on any President is always tremendous, and I think Mr. Cleveland has done what he thought was right."

The Massachusetts Prohibition Convention, like that of the same party in New York, was the largest in the history of the State. It was characterized also by great enthusiasm and outspoken hostility to the Republican party based there, as it is here, upon the unfaithfulness of that party to its promises in regard to temperance legislation. As one of the delegates put it: "The Democratic party is hopeless—we have nothing to do with that, our only course is to defeat the Republican party and thus bring its members to our support." This is the spirit which prohibition advocates are showing everywhere, and it is evident that they are everywhere gaining fresh recruits, not so much because additional people are being suddenly converted to prohibition principles as because of the growing conviction that something must be done to check the liquor evil, and that there is no hope in this direction from either of the regular parties. Then, too, the steady refusal of the Republican party leaders to do anything but harp upon the past is having the natural effect of driving voters to a third party which has a conviction and a mission.

The refusal of the acting Secretary of the Treasury to buy any of the bonds offered on the 7th inst., although some of the offerings were at lower rates than some purchases previously made, may be due to a variety of reasons. The cash balance in the Secretary's hands at the time may have been below the average, in which case the tightness of the money market would not be chargeable to the operations of the Treasury. In other words, that fact would prove that the public disbursements had been in excess of the receipts, and consequently that the condition of the money market was due to other controlling causes. One great misfortune of the present situation is that all eyes are turned upon Washington, and that, whether money is tight or easy, the business community is most deeply concerned with conjectures as to what the Secretary will do next week, and the week after, and the week after that. Instead of adjusting their plans to known facts in the world of trade and industry, merchants and bankers are necessarily speculating upon the intentions of the Secretary in reference to his cash balance. This is an anomalous and unhappy condition, and the only wonder is that any business requiring large prevision and careful calculation can be done at all. All this results from the neglect of Congress to reduce taxation to the needs of the Government, or to make some lawful dis-

position of the surplus revenues. The Secretary is powerless to prevent money from coming into the Treasury. He can only devise means within very narrow limits for returning it to business channels.

The crash in the collaterals by which the loans to Henry S. Ives & Co. were supposed to be secured appears to have taken Wall Street by surprise. Yet there was nothing in it which had not been trumpeted on the housetops for weeks before. It had been known all along that the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton preferred stock was mostly fraudulent, and that the value of the common stock had been lessened to the utmost extent that a consummate swindler could impair it. There is no new fact disclosed by the sales except the names of the lenders of the money. Here is good ground for surprise, for we find among them some of the most prudent and close-fisted institutions in the country, old iron-bound savings-banks and others, besides private lenders who are commonly regarded as the very skinflints of the money market. And yet, when a Woman's Bank, like that of Mrs. Howe in Boston, gets away with a lot of money belonging to widows and sewing girls, we think that the credulity of some people is unfathomable.

There has been a great pother in the newspapers lately about a "concession" granted by the Chinese Government to an alleged Count Mitkiewicz and Mr. Wharton Barker of Philadelphia for a monopoly of banking, telegraphing, telephoning, railroading, etc., etc., in that empire, all of which may be very important, and is certainly very funny in view of the antecedents of Mitkiewicz. What concerns the American people, however, is the apparent endeavor of the parties holding the concession to get some kind of endorsement or recognition from our Government. This they have not yet obtained, and probably will not. If all the parties were perfectly respectable, it would still be, upon all accounts, absurd and *outré* for the United States to lend its sanction, however remotely, to a private adventure of that kind. According to the reports of the more enthusiastic correspondents, the concession amounts to little less than conferring the Government of China upon Mitkiewicz and Barker. If a similar concession were granted to them in this country, and could be enforced, we should consider the other government—the one which is divided into executive, legislative, and judicial departments—not worth retaining. Probably the grant, whatever it may be, depends upon some expression of views by the State Department at Washington. If any such expression should be given, the Chinese Government would very likely attach to it more importance than would properly belong to it. Therefore no expression of any kind should be given except a friendly warning to Li Hung Chang to beware of adventurers, and especially of American Counts. We imagine that the danger of "recognition" is not great, since the negotiation between Mitkiewicz and our Government has only advanced to the point of presenting to the Assistant Secretary of State "a fine imperial photograph" of Li Hung

Chang. This is the stage at which it should be allowed to rest.

The citizens of New York have to elect this fall two judges of the Supreme Court. A morning contemporary, a few days since, laid much emphasis upon the necessity of reelecting those judges who have given the public faithful service on the bench, and it instanced Charles Donohue and Abraham R. Lawrence as two shining examples of this kind of judge, both of whom deserved reelection. We do not suppose that the *Sun* cares one farthing whether Judge Lawrence is reelected or not. It evidently thinks that Judge Lawrence has character and reputation enough for two, and that if he and Donohue were nominated together, Judge Lawrence would pull the ticket through. We do not think so. We think that Judge Lawrence richly deserves a reelection, and we hope that the Democratic factions may unite on him as they did on Judge Barrett last fall. His reputation as an able and high-minded jurist, above the reach of any sinister influence, personal, political, or other, is of the same kind and degree as Judge Barrett's. The securing of good judges on the bench is, perhaps, the most arduous task, and is certainly the most important achievement, that our form of government involves, and it is accordingly by all means desirable when we have had fourteen years' experience of one, and have found him unexceptionable, that we should retain his services. Judge Lawrence has fulfilled all the requirements that a high standard of judicial excellence imposes, and he should accordingly be renominated and reelected. But it should not be required of him to tow any other candidate into the haven of safety. Judge Donohue and Judge Lawrence have been on the bench together during the past fourteen years. They have had equal opportunities to make reputations for themselves. They have made their reputations, each after its kind, and every citizen of fair education and discernment knows what they are and how they compare with each other. Everybody knows that if they were competitors for the suffrages of the people without the intervention of party nominating conventions, Judge Lawrence would be reelected, and that Judge Donohue would be left in a hopeless minority.

The opinion of Corporation Counsel O'Brien on the rights of the Manhattan Elevated Railway to occupy street intersections for stations, and to establish retail stores in the public highways, and to lay three tracks where the law authorized only two, is an "eye-opener" to the public as well as to the Mayor, and accordingly we cannot sympathize with the Mayor's indignation that it should have leaked out and found its way into the newspapers. The situation of the Manhattan Company is such that it is forced to make encroachments all the time on the rights of the public. Its growing traffic pushes it with irresistible force in those directions. So much the more important is it that the city authorities should be on the alert to keep the company within the measure of its legal rights, and compel it to pay for what it

is necessary that it should have. Certainly no step taken by Mayor Hewitt since he came into office has been more timely or more imperatively required than this, by which he and his successors in office have procured a chart in outline showing the boundaries of public and private rights in this matter. It was especially important that the Mayor should know whether the power exists to complete the roofing of the streets in which tracks are now laid by putting in a third track, and that if no such power exists, the work should be stopped before it becomes a *fait accompli*.

Judge Gorman gave a Walking Delegate some information last week which seems to have greatly surprised him. He had appeared in court, extremely well dressed, to answer to a charge of boycotting a laborer named Hoff, who had been expelled from the American Carpenters' and Joiners' Union. Wherever Hoff obtained work, the Walking Delegate, Farrell, appeared and threatened the employer with a strike of all his other hands unless Hoff was discharged. Hoff had him arrested for this conduct, and when the case was stated to Judge Gorman, he informed the Walking Delegate that from the moment the Union expelled Hoff it had no authority over him whatever, adding:

"You walking delegates must not prevent this man from working where he can get an employer, where he has one, and where he pleases to toil. It is against the laws of this State for you to prevent or attempt to prevent any man from earning his own living peaceably in this State. It is intimidation for a walking delegate to go to an employer and threaten to deprive him of hired laborers unless he will discharge a particular workman. When you do that, you go outside your field. You are minding somebody else's business."

The counsel for the Walking Delegate was so alarmed by this view of the law that he was unwilling to accept the Judge's offer to have his client go free on condition that he did not repeat the offence, and asked to have the case carried to the Court of General Sessions, saying that if the law was subjected to the "strained interpretation" put upon it by the Judge, the "efficiency" of labor organizations would be seriously impaired. His case will be carried up, therefore, and the Walking Delegate is certain to get all the light that he wants upon the law, for nothing is clearer or more firmly established by a long line of decisions than that this "strained interpretation" is the only sound one.

The transformation of the *Independent* into a journal of the most approved and ultra orthodoxy—or, as the *Christian Union* recently described the process, the triumph of its publisher over its editors—appears now to be complete. Its latest broadside at the Andover professors is the publication of the sentence of condemnation passed upon them by the religious press of the country. Such thunders the *Independent* used to despise in the days when they were just as vigorously launched against itself; and some of its readers who remember the lofty contempt with which it spoke of the assaults upon itself of the obscurantist *Observer*, rub their eyes when they see it now referring to that paper as a "theological authority." Meanwhile, the Andover professors



reply in kind, in the last number of their *Revue*, by quoting the comments of the organs of English Independency, which are somewhat in their favor. The possibilities of a discussion conducted along this line are alarming.

The importance of forestry management in the estimation of older nations, better skilled than we are in economic administration, appears in a volume of Consular Reports extending to 315 pages, lately published by the Department of State. The reports cover the particulars of Government control and management of forests in Austria-Hungary, Germany, France, Italy, and Switzerland, and are full of matter of great use to students of the subject in this country. Consul General Jussen reports that no proper returns are published in Austria-Hungary of the profits of Government forests for the whole empire, but for Bohemia alone the clear annual profit is about 14,000,000 florins. The net income from the Prussian State forests, Consul General Raine reports, stands at about 24,000,000 marks annually. The French net annual income is about 16,000,000 francs, as reported by Consul Roosevelt. Consul General Alden reports that it is impossible to give trustworthy figures of the revenue and cost of forestry in Italy. According to Consul General Winchester, the Swiss Confederation derives no revenue from forests. The total value of yield from cantonal forests, however, is about 23,000,000 francs, and the returns from the forests of the Canton of Zurich show a nearly three-fold increase of profit yielded during a period of fifty years of cultivation—from 31.28 francs per hectare (nearly two and a half acres) in 1830-40 to 90.58 francs in 1870-78. Add to this the provision of useful and wholesome employment for great numbers of the population—the number of forest officers of all grades being about 32,000 in Austria alone.

It is becoming clear to the French themselves that the chauvinists who went to Moscow, or sent delegates there, to worship at the funeral altar erected to M. Katkoff and burn cheap incense to Russophilism, have not only made the French Republic ridiculous before liberal Europe, but disgusted the higher strata of Russian society itself. The thing was preposterous from beginning to end. Katkoff had the merit, in the eyes of Déroulède and his followers, of having been, in his last days, an opponent of a policy favorable to German interests; but that is all. A short while before, he advocated a Russian alliance with Germany; some months later, if death had not put an end to him, he might have preached a crusade against the Republic. He was decidedly a friend of German culture, German philosophy, and German methods of government in contradistinction to French. He combated German autonomy in the Baltic provinces of the Czar's empire, not because it was German, but because it was autonomy. It was in vain that the Gallic Katkoff worshippers were reminded by the Polish exiles in Paris how cruelly he had mocked at all French sympathy, governmental or popular, with bleeding Poland, when that secular ally of France made an attempt in

1863 to shake off her Russian fetters; how his *Moscow Gazette* applauded the very work of "the hangman" Muraviev, whose hand a Russian grandson of Suvoroff, the subduer of Kosciuszko's insurrection, refused to shake, because there was too much Polish blood on it. In vain Prince Krepotkin, in a letter to Rochefort's journal, reminded his fellow revolutionists that Katkoff's name had been for a score of years a synonym of anti-revolutionary repression. Rochefort suppressed the letter, excusing himself with a bad joke. What now spoils the joke (of the whole affair) is the circumstance that Prince Moshcherski, upon whose shoulders Alexander III. has thrown the mantle of Katkoff, directing the special favors bestowed on the *Moscow Gazette* to be turned over to the Prince's *Citizen*, immediately assailed the French phrasemongers with merciless invective, and that the Czar himself is credibly reported in French correspondence to have enjoined his surroundings to exclude the French papers from his newspaper desk, on account of the juggling attempts to make him play out French cards.

Charles Marvin, an English writer whose thesis has long been that the Russians mean to advance on India, and are eager to pounce upon Herat, "the key of India," and that salvation only lies in keeping them out of "the gates of Herat," is downcast over the settlement of the frontiers of Afghanistan and Russian Turkestan just concluded by Russia and England. In a letter to the *London Times*, he endeavors to expose the fallacy of the rose-color view taken by the British negotiator, Sir W. Ridgway, and Lord Salisbury regarding the relative importance of the concessions made by the Russians on the Oxus and by the English, in the name of the Amir of Afghanistan, on the Kushk and Murghab. The district ceded between these two rivers, Badkhis, is uncultivated. "True, but that does not guarantee that the Russians will not cultivate it and settle it in a very short time," as they settled the Tejend oasis, between Ashkhabad and Merv, which they occupied in 1883, and the population of which their Transcasian railway has since raised from a few scattered families to upward of 15,000 people. The country between the Kushk and Murghab is no less fertile, and the Sarik Turkomans have there enormous flocks, computed to number three quarters of a million sheep. The Sariks will spread over the lands ceded to them; discontented Persian and Afghan border tribes will swarm there, as they did in the Tejend territory. Strategically considered, the cession is disastrous, Mr. Marvin thinks. The London protocol of 1885 gave Russia a distinctly restricted lodgment between her new military basis of Merv and the Herat country, separated from each other by a strip of desert; the new agreement enlarges this lodgment by 800 square miles, enabling Russia "to mass a force, intended to seize Herat, within seventy or eighty miles of the key of India, instead of at a distance of 240 miles from it." Mr. Marvin's information on this topic may be both fresh and correct, but his notion of the strategic keyship of Herat is as false as it is old, as we have more than once shown in these columns.

We referred last week to the fact that a detailed narrative of the fall of Queretaro and the capture of Maximilian had been drawn up by Gen. Escobedo, Commander-in-Chief of the Liberal forces, and sent to the Mexican Government. Before transmitting it to the Secretary of War, he read the document to all the surviving officers who were present at the siege, convincing them of its accuracy. In addition to what he has said before, Gen. Escobedo now distinctly declares that Lopez, the accredited messenger of Maximilian, on the night of May 14, after vainly trying to negotiate a surrender with the Emperor excluded, made a final offer, as he was ordered to do in the last resort, to surrender the key to the fortifications. This meant the infallible capture of the whole army, which resulted, in fact, the next morning, when Lopez fulfilled the agreement to the letter. Escobedo further declares, as explanation of his strange silence all those years, that Maximilian, when he found that he was to be tried and probably executed, besought him to keep the whole affair a secret for the sake of his family. The General could not promise to do so, but finally, when the Emperor implored him at least not to divulge the treachery until after the death of Carlotta, he gave a qualified pledge that he would not. He feels now, he says, that he is fairly released from his word by the appeals made to him to declare the whole truth, as well as by the need of refuting the slanders directed by the Clerical press against the Liberal party. The whole is a terrible blow to the Church party, which has always looked upon Maximilian, badly as he disappointed it, as a hero and martyr.

If the defence which the friends of President Barillas of Guatemala make of his conduct in decreeing himself Dictator is not grossly untruthful in its statements of fact, it must go far towards justifying so extreme a measure. It shows, at any rate, that it had become for the country a question of either dictatorship or usurpation. The Clerical majority in the Assembly pushed through laws of a revolutionary and unconstitutional character which were designed to subject the entire Government to their policy, and which certainly would have done so had not Barillas cut the whole thing short by assuming the power of a Dictator. The most obvious and radical of the laws threatening him was a scheme to transfer all the power of the Executive to the Supreme Court. Having first, in defiance of the Constitution, displaced the judges who by law were entitled to two years more of service, the Assembly proceeded to enact that the court could summon the military to enforce its sentences, that it could suspend at will all inferior judges, all officers in the army, Custom-house and Treasury officials, and that the President himself must obey the orders of the court without any appeal against their legality. It is easy to see that Barillas would have had no authority left under such laws, and, as his veto was powerless to prevent their enactment, he took the only other course possible—unless he were to go into exile.

## SUMMARY OF THE WEEK'S NEWS.

[WEDNESDAY, September 7, to TUESDAY, September 12, 1887, inclusive.]

## DOMESTIC.

THE Secretary of the Treasury has instructed the Collector at the Port of New York to permit the entry of the baggage and effects of the military companies from Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, and other foreign countries, which will soon arrive to take part in the International Military Encampment at Chicago.

George R. Tingle, Treasury Agent in charge of the Alaskan Seal Islands, says in his annual report that the estimate made last spring of the number of seals on St. Paul and St. George Islands was 6,557,750, which he thinks was too great by one fourth. "The Department," the agent says, "cannot place too high an estimate on the value of this seal property, and the Government, I am sure, will not yield to any demands which would make it possible to accomplish the destruction of seal rookeries and seal life, which, under judicious management and protected by law, may be perpetuated indefinitely." He estimates that 5,300 skins have been taken by marauding sealers during the season.

The official count of the recent vote cast in Texas on the constitutional amendment to prohibit the liquor traffic shows that 129,273 ballots were cast for prohibition and 221,627 against it.

In nine counties in Missouri, a vote was taken on the prohibition of the liquor traffic September 8, and in seven of them the Prohibitionists were successful. The traffic is now prohibited in thirty counties, and elections are soon to be held in eighteen others.

The Prohibitionists of Massachusetts nominated a State ticket, September 7, with W. H. Earle of Worcester for Governor. The platform demands, "as an act of simple justice, that the Legislature grant municipal suffrage to women."

Gov. Ames of Massachusetts has nominated Judge Marcus P. Knowlton to be Judge of the Supreme Court of that State, vice Judge W. S. Gardner, resigned. September 7, Judge Thomas J. Simmons of the Superior Court of Georgia was elected by the Legislature a Judge of the Supreme Court of that State, to fill the vacancy caused by the recent death of Judge Hall.

At a meeting of the Commissioners of the New York State Reservation at Niagara Falls September 6, the Superintendent reported that the privilege of placing carriages in the depot yards and of soliciting passengers on the trains and in the depots was enjoyed by one company, that this company is interested in bazaars for the sale of merchandise, and in distant points of interest where admission fees are charged, and that the drivers are obliged to carry their passengers to these places before taking them to the falls. Steps were taken to put an end to this imposition.

The Ninth International Medical Congress at Washington adjourned September 10, and the Tenth Congress will be held at Berlin in 1890. The proceedings are reported to have been less important than of most of the preceding Congresses.

Mr. Powderly, the chief officer of the Knights of Labor, issued a circular "to the order everywhere" on September 7 outlining a new plan, the enactment of which at the next General Assembly he recommends. The main features of the plan are to give to every trade the right to organize a national trade assembly under the jurisdiction of the General Assembly, to allow every national trade assembly to meet at least once a year for the election of officers and for the better regulation of the affairs of the trade and district, and to have exclusive control over the affairs of its trade without let or hindrance so long as the Constitution of the General Assembly is not violated;

to forbid a local trade assembly to enter upon a strike until all the assemblies in the national trade assembly shall have voted on the question, and shall have by a three-fourths vote agreed to render assistance (the general laws of the order requiring attempts at arbitration to be observed).

The Edison Power and Light Company September 9 let a contract for the building of a water-power canal along the rapids of the St. Mary's River at Sault Ste. Marie, to supply, by the use of immense water-power, electric power to run elevators, mills, and other machinery, and an electric light plant.

Elijah Hayes of Warsaw, Ind., has given \$130,000 to the Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church—the largest single gift it has ever received.

The trustees of the American Catholic University met in Baltimore, September 7, elected Bishop Keane of Richmond rector, and decided to begin the erection of the building for the theological department this fall, and to locate the University in Washington.

Col. Thomas G. Jones, commander of the Second Regiment, Alabama State Troops, has sent to the Governor of Connecticut the old battle flag of the Sixteenth Connecticut Volunteers, which was captured April 20, 1864, by the Confederate forces under Maj.-Gen. R. F. Hoke.

The anniversary of the battle of North Point was celebrated in Baltimore September 12. The surviving members of the Old Defenders were dined at a hotel. They are James C. Morford, aged ninety-two, John Peddicord, ninety-three, and Nathaniel Watts, ninety-three. Mrs. Elizabeth Sands, aged ninety-nine, whose brothers took part in the battle of North Point, was also served with dinner by a committee at her home.

Heavy rains on September 8 and 9 washed away five miles of the Southern Pacific Railroad track between Tucson, A. T., and Benson. Telegraph wires are down and in some cases are embedded ten feet in the sand. Steel rails were carried a quarter of a mile down the river. Travel over the road is interrupted for a week, and great damage has been done.

Ex-Gov. William Aiken of South Carolina died September 7, aged eighty-one. He was Governor in 1844 and a Congressman from 1851 to 1857. He was at one time the largest slaveholder in the State, but he opposed nullification and secession. He was one of the first trustees of the Peabody Fund.

Gov. Washington Bartlett of California died in Oakland, September 12. He was born in Georgia in 1824, and went to California in 1850. He was elected to be County Clerk in 1859, Mayor of San Francisco in 1882, and Governor, as a Democrat, in 1886. William A. Washington, who was said to be the nearest living relative of George Washington, died September 11 at Owenboro, Ky., in his eighty-eighth year. He was the son of Fairfax Washington, a second cousin of George Washington, and was the oldest of ten children.

## FOREIGN.

A meeting was held in Mitchelstown, September 9, to protest against the issuing of a warrant for the arrest of William O'Brien, which was attended by 7,000 persons, including Messrs. Dillon, Brunner, Labouchere, John Ellis, Gill, Condon, and O'Shea, members of Parliament. A Government reporter with an escort of police tried to push his way up to the vehicle from which Mr. Dillon was speaking. The crowd resisted them with sticks and stones. The police made a charge on the crowd, and were repulsed. They then fired from the barracks and killed two men, and wounded another so badly that he subsequently died. Many persons in the crowd and a number of the police received slight injuries.

At a meeting of the Irish Privy Council in Dublin Castle September 8, it was decided to

have Mr. William O'Brien arrested if he did not appear before the court at Mitchelstown the next day in answer to a summons. He did not appear, and the service of the summons was proved, and the judge granted a warrant for his arrest. He was arrested at Kingstown, September 11, whither he went to decline an invitation to go to London. Subsequently at a hotel in Dublin he made a speech in which he said: "So long as there is breath in my body my voice will not be silent until I am gagged. I am proud to suffer for Mitchelstown. When in Kingstown I was told that I would not be arrested if I did not undertake to go to England. That shows that the Government is beginning to dread us in England." He was taken to Mitchelstown September 12. At Limerick he was enthusiastically received by a large crowd. In an address he said he never went on a journey which promised better for the cause of Ireland than the one he was now making. The Mayor, members of the municipality, and prominent citizens met him at Cork. Two hundred policemen and a strong force of military escorted him to the court house, where a formal charge was made against him and he was remanded to jail. The streets through which he was taken were lined with troops and crowded with people. Stones were thrown at the police escorting him and several of them were wounded. The police then charged the mob, using their batons freely and injuring many of the spectators.

In the House of Commons September 12, a motion to go into Committee on the Appropriation Bill was made the occasion of a long and bitter discussion of the Mitchelstown tragedy. Sir William Vernon Harcourt, Liberal, called attention to the general policy of the Government in Ireland, especially to the invasion of the rights of the people respecting the holding of public meetings. He demanded that the House be informed of the nature of the instructions given to the police in Ireland regarding the line of action they are to pursue with respect to public meetings. Mr. Balfour refused to give the information, but made a long speech in reply to Sir William. In the course of the debate Mr. Gladstone said, that with regard to the Mitchelstown affair, which at once moved and harrowed up the feelings of the country, Mr. Balfour's conduct seemed marked by singular rashness and imprudence. Mr. Balfour had done all in his power to bias the case, and driven the Opposition to state how the facts appeared to them. He reserved his judgment, but he considered that Mr. Balfour's assertions were right in the teeth of the facts. He feared that all that was occurring in Ireland tended to support the contention of the Opposition that the Government's legislation was directed not against crime, but against combination for liberty of speech and public meeting. He was convinced that the people of England would not follow the Government's course, which could lead to nothing but distress and disaster. The debate was of special importance, because it showed that the Government will grant no inquiry into the conduct of the Mitchelstown police, and are prepared to give the police practically a free hand over Ireland.

Later, on the same evening, Messrs. Graham (Liberal) and Edward Harrington (Nationalist) were suspended from the House of Commons for refusing to apologize for disparaging remarks about the House of Lords.

The practical work of the session of Parliament was closed September 13, when the Appropriation Bill passed its third reading in the House of Commons. There was a long and bitter debate about the treatment of political prisoners, which was provoked by Mr. O'Brien's confinement in a cell nine feet by four. Mr. Balfour expressed the determination of the Government to make no distinction between political and other prisoners. Parliament adjourned till September 16, when it will be prorogued.

At Ballyporeen, Tipperary, September 11, a riot broke out in a public house, and the



police, though they used their batons freely on the rioters, were compelled to retreat to their barracks, from which a few shots were fired at the crowd.

On September 11, near Ennis, in County Clare, moonlighters murdered a constable named Whelehan, and mortally wounded another officer. Twelve policemen had waited in concealment in a house where they had learned that a number of moonlighters would gather. When the moonlighters came, they were admitted, and then the door was closed and locked after them. The fight took place in a small room.

The English Union Conservative clubs have arranged for an autumn campaign to cover the whole country. Meetings will be held in 220 towns, and sixty-five members of Parliament have consented to take the stump.

Mr. Gladstone, in answer to an invitation to attend the centennial celebration of the adoption of the United States Constitution at Philadelphia, wrote, July 20, in a letter that was first published August 8: "The attractions of the invitation are enhanced to me by the circumstance that I have always regarded that Constitution as the most remarkable work known to modern times to have been produced by human intellect at a single stroke, so to speak, in its application to political affairs. So far as I can see, the whole small residue of activity at my command will be dedicated to the great work at home. I regard the Irish question as the most urgent and most full of promise of beneficial results to my country that I have ever been engaged in. I ought, perhaps, to add that, viewing the jealousies prevalent in England, it is doubtful whether they might not be stimulated were I to accept the distinction you offer me, which is not less signal than undeserved. That you and your children may be enabled by the help of the Almighty to worthily meet the accumulation of high duties and responsibilities proportioned to ever growing power, will be, I am confident, the prayer of your kinsmen here, who hope, may believe, that the moral relations between the several portions of one race are wisely destined to acquire increasing harmony and closeness."

Mr. John Bright, in declining to attend the Constitutional Centennial at Philadelphia, wrote: "I need not say how much sympathy I feel with the gathering to which you are looking forward with so great an interest. All the civilized world, all who love freedom in it, must regard the event as one of the most important in the annals of men. In the great struggle of twenty-five years ago the strength of your country was exerted and its unity secured. My voice was raised at that time in favor of that unity, which I hope may never again be endangered or imperilled. And now I will look forward with hope and faith. As you advance in the second century of your national life, may we not ask that your country and mine may march in line in the direction of freedom and a policy which the moral law will sustain? May we not comfort ourselves with the belief that your country, under a succession of noble Presidents, with their Ministers and your Congresses, and my country, under a succession of patriotic sovereigns, with their Ministers and Parliaments, may assist and guide the growing millions for whom they act to nobler ends than have hitherto been reached? May we not ask that our two nations may be one people?"

The English Trades Congress on September 7 adopted a resolution to form a labor electoral association to secure an increase in the labor representation in Parliament. This may have an important political bearing, because the English labor representatives are all attached to the radical wing of the Liberal party. Mr. Broadhurst, their chief, is a follower of Gladstone, and was Under Secretary of the Home Department in his last Ministry. Another resolution of the Congress was to begin an agitation in favor of decreasing the hours of labor to eight per day, and to make every Saturday a full holiday. The Congress was captured by the Socialistic element.

Twenty thousand nail makers at Worcester and Stafford, England, are on strike for an advance of 20 to 30 per cent. in wages.

Queen Victoria has conferred the order of Knighthood upon Dr. Morell Mackenzie in recognition of his services to the Crown Prince of Germany; and the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria has conferred upon M. Pasteur the decoration of the Order of the Iron Crown, with the title of Baron.

Sir Charles Young, the dramatic author, died suddenly in London September 11.

The British ship *Dunshelm*, from London April 20 for San Francisco, was wrecked June 23 off Terra del Fuego, and a part of the crew perished.

It is semi-officially reported at St. Petersburg that the Russian Government, not obtaining the assent of the Powers to the proposed mission of Gen. Ernroth to Bulgaria, will endeavor to gain the adhesion of the European Powers to other plans for the settlement of the question; and that the abdication of Prince Ferdinand will be a necessary result of the adoption of the Russian policy. The state of siege has been raised at Sofia. The *Political Correspondence* (Vienna) says it is semi-officially stated in St. Petersburg that Russia is determined, unless Prince Ferdinand departs from Bulgaria, to declare the Berlin Treaty void.

The *Figaro* (Paris) has published a letter written by Prince Ferdinand expressing delight at his enthusiastic reception in Bulgaria. He believes that the people are thoroughly attached to him. He complains of the opposition of three great Powers, and regards their war against him as cruel and unjust, but he is resolved to do his duty whatever happens. It has been reported from Bucharest that ex-Premier Radoslavoff and several officers have been arrested for connection with an alleged military plot. It is reported at Sofia that the police invented the plot in order to further the ends of the present Prime Minister of Bulgaria.

A procession of members of the National party at Sofia marched to the palace September 12 and cheered Prince Ferdinand. Thence it proceeded to the residence of the ex-Premier Minister and threw stones at the windows. The police were unable to quell the disturbance, and many persons were injured. The procession became a mob, and visited the offices of the Opposition journals and smashed the windows, shouting, "Down with traitors." The crowd returned to the palace, where Prince Ferdinand addressed them, saying: "Love me. Be good patriots. Long live Bulgaria."

M. Ferron, the French Minister of War, at a dinner given on September 9 by the officers of the Seventeenth Army Corps, with which the successful mobilization experiment was made, offered a toast in honor of the corps, and praised the zeal of the civil officials and the devotion of the people, from whom, he said, any sacrifice might be asked when the interests of France were involved. The experience gained by the mobilization of the corps, he declared, had dispelled the doubt oppressing the nation, and had given Parliament and the country a feeling of confidence which they did not possess before the mobilization. The Berlin newspapers commented favorably on the mobilizing experiment, but some of them insinuated that there had been special preparation.

The *Journal des Debats* of Paris announced September 12 the issue of a new French loan of about 700,000,000 francs.

The death was announced September 13 of Georges Maurice Guiffrey, a member of the French Senate.

The Paris *Petit Journal* and the Warsaw *Gazette* have been excluded from Alsace Lorraine.

On September 7, while the Socialists of Rotterdam were entertaining one of their agitators, a crowd stoned the building in which the reception was held, and tore down and burned a Socialist flag, and broke the furniture. The police charged the mob and dispersed it, but quiet was not restored for several hours.

The seventieth birthday of the Queen of Denmark was celebrated September 7.

A number of officials and merchants at Vienna have been arrested for fraud at the Custom house.

Three soldiers at Trapani, Sicily, who were sent to perform disinfecting duty, were assailed by a mob and killed September 11.

An officer of the Pontifical Guard has been attacked with cholera, and the Pope has ordered that the strictest precautions be taken to prevent the spread of the disease.

It is reported from Bombay that 31,328 deaths from cholera occurred in Oude during last May.

The Berne Government has sent a demand to the Bundesrath to prohibit Mormon propaganda in Switzerland.

The commander of the German squadron at Samoa recently demanded a heavy fine from King Malietoa for robberies committed on German plantations, and landed 500 men and declared Malietoa's rival, Taniasese, King. Malietoa resisted, and the British and American consuls are reported to have issued a proclamation advising submission in the meantime, but declaring that their Governments would not recognize Taniasese. The *North German Gazette* (Berlin) on August 10 said that the Government had received no information concerning the deposition of Malietoa, but it said that the squadron was ordered to demand satisfaction for robberies and for insults to Emperor William and the abuse of Germans while celebrating the Emperor's birthday. Samoan foreign relations, the *Gazette* declared, especially the equal rights of Germany, England, and America, will remain the same, whatever may be the fate of King Malietoa. A large majority of the Samoans have long recognized the authority of Taniasese as King.

The German East African Company, by treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar, has acquired a large tract of territory south of Mombasa, which includes a strip of coast necessary for their development of the inland country.

A despatch has been received from St. Paul de Louanda, under date of September 9, saying that Maj. Bartelot, commander of the camp on the Aruwimi, had received news from Henry M. Stanley dated July 12. Stanley was then ten days' march in the interior, and was still proceeding up the Aruwimi, which he had found navigable above the rapids. He had launched the steel whaleboat and rafts. The members of the expedition were in good health, and provisions were easily procured at the lodge villages. A caravan of 480 men followed the expedition on the left bank of the river, and an advance guard of forty natives of Zanibar led it. Stanley expected to reach Wadai by the middle of August. The advance had been so peaceably accomplished that he informed Bartelot that he would soon send him orders to follow the expedition by the same route.

The International Prison Congress began its session at Toronto, September 11, and the Hon. R. B. Hayes, ex-President of the United States, delivered the opening address.

Archbishop Lynch of Toronto, in answer to an inquiry, has said: "Henry George's doctrine or book has not as yet been pronounced on by the Holy See," and "Dr. McGlynn's excommunication was occasioned by his persistent refusal to obey the commands of the Holy See, to which he promised obedience as a priest and as an alumnus of the College of the Propaganda at Rome. Dr. McGlynn's case is purely ecclesiastical, not political."

The Mexican Judge Zubia, at Paso del Norte, who recently made a personal assault on the United States Consul there, has been suspended from office.

The filibustering expedition from Key West to Cuba is reported to have been composed of only a handful of adventurers, of bad antecedents and of no prominence.

## HOW TRADE DOES NOT FOLLOW THE FLAG.

WE have been favored with a small pamphlet of twenty-eight pages, entitled 'You are Interested'—the subject in which we are interested, or to be interested, being the payment of subsidies to American steamships, and the compiler being Mr. H. K. Thurber, President of the United States and Brazil Steamship Company. The usual argument for subsidies is here reinforced by a statement of the recent action of the Spanish Ministry in subsidizing three lines of steamers, one from Spain to Vera Cruz, another to the West Indies and Colon, and a third from Cuba to the United States and Canada. These subsidies amount altogether to \$1,022,640, and are subject to the approval of the Spanish Cortes and the appropriation of the necessary funds, but the ships have already been in the service six or seven months. The effect of the subsidy, in the opinion of the writers of the pamphlet, will be to "drive every American vessel, steam and sail, out of the West Indies and the Spanish Main business." The remedy suggested is an equivalent subsidy, or some subsidy, from our own Government to American steamships.

So much stress is laid by Mr. Thurber on the phrase "Trade follows the flag," frequently used in his pamphlet, that we are moved to inquire what it means. It cannot mean that where there is no American flag there is no American trade, because the largest part of our trade, and a very large trade it is too, is between New York on the one hand and Liverpool, Havre, Bremen, and Hamburg on the other. Here there is no American flag at all, or none worth mentioning, yet the trade is immense and increasing all the time. So there is a trade which does not follow the flag, which is indifferent to all flags, and which follows dimes and dollars, regardless of the bunting at the masthead. We presume that Mr. Thurber's trade is mostly of the kind that seeks the cheapest bottoms on the ocean as well as the cheapest railways on land, for if it were not of this kind it would not long exist. There is a large trade between New York and the West Indies. Here there is an American flag, but we have never observed that American trade followed that flag in preference to any other. Indeed, the complaint of the advocates of subsidies is that it tends to follow other flags, even where no subsidies are paid to the foreign carrier. So it is not true that trade follows the flag. What trade follows is the almighty dollar. It would be a fool if it followed anything else.

In one case only is it true that "trade follows the flag," and that is where there is no other flag to follow, or where ours is the cheapest, the handiest, the most expeditious, serviceable, and convenient. The phrase was coined to express the idea that where there is at present no means of ocean communication, trade will spring up if you establish such means. In this restricted sense it is true, but if two means of communication are established, trade will follow whichever flag offers the best terms. Certain patriotic and poetic suggestions follow the flag wherever it goes, but trade is neither patriotic nor poetic—neither Mr. Thurber's trade nor any other. The fact

that trade follows the dollar, is the real reason why subsidies are asked for.

The example of foreign nations as subsidy payers is the main argument of subsidy advocates in this country. But there are important differences between ourselves and them. Most of them have colonial dependencies in various parts of the world, with which it is indispensable that they should maintain frequent and rapid communication. In other words, there are political reasons in addition to commercial ones for paying subsidies. Again, those countries really desire foreign trade and take pains to promote it. We do not. We have adopted the policy of "creating a home market." We have been taught for a quarter of a century to look upon foreign trade as injurious and almost sinful. Our legislation has been directed to the preventing of importation, without which there can be no exportation. Public sentiment has been trained to look askance at ocean-borne commerce. At this very day, with a surplus revenue coming into the Treasury which is a menace to all trade, it is doubtful whether any of the artificial restrictions imposed on foreign trade can be relaxed, so strong is the belief that such trade is detrimental to the nation. Even the advocates of subsidies are generally opposed to the removal of these restrictions. They are as much in favor of high tariffs as anybody, and they contribute to the bad education which teaches the people that foreign trade should be shunned and repressed. This teaching has returned to plague the inventors. When they set forth, as in the present pamphlet, the allurements of foreign commerce, they find their influence deadened by a conviction that it is not worth while to spend the public money to win something that has been deliberately spurned and publicly abjured. Those, on the other hand, who hold that foreign trade is just as advantageous as any other kind of trade, will be apt to insist that the removal of artificial restrictions, which costs nothing, shall at least keep pace with more expensive means for rebuilding the ocean commerce of the United States.

## THE DUTY OF CONGRESS ABOUT POVERTY.

MR. BUTTERWORTH, the Ohio Congressman, has been interviewed as to "what Congress will attempt at the next session towards the improvement of business and reduction of the surplus, or other modes and means of reform," and answered that "it certainly ought to do something," because "the present order of things is tending to great aggregations in large cities, colossal wealth, and abject poverty, with corruption and dissipation." The remedy for this very objectionable state of things he described as follows:

"We must see that our prosperity is more generally shared in by the masses. I do not mean that idleness shall be encouraged, rewarded, or even tolerated, or that the idler and industrious shall be equal yoke-fellows in any field of competition; but that the Government shall not permit any of its agencies to be used to increase the strength of arms that are already too strong, and to add to the thrift of those who are dangerously thrifty already, or to pile up colossal fortunes that are already dangerous in amount."

This is more of the talk of which we have had so much from clergymen and philanthropists during the past year, and which does so

much to aggravate whatever danger there is in the existing social situation. These dark hints that there is some expedient as yet untried, but within reach of the Government, which can cause a more equal distribution of wealth and diminish poverty, have, we do not hesitate to say, an immense influence in stimulating idleness and increasing poverty and corruption. They enable hundreds of lazy agitators all over the country to live off the wages of the poor, and increase the distaste for industry and the indifference to thrift and skill which are already becoming in an alarming degree a characteristic of the American laborer. They help, too, to spread and confirm the notion that character has but little to do with shaping the condition of society, and that the world can be made to move as fast as is necessary simply by bill and resolution.

We repeat that it is the bounden duty of every man of influence or position, who holds that the present distribution of property in this country is unjust, and can be and ought to be changed by legislation, and feels it necessary to announce his views publicly, to tell people exactly what he thinks the legislation ought to be. When he finds fault with "the present order of things," he ought to tell us in definite terms what the "present order of things" is, and exactly how he would go to work to change it.

The feature of the "present order of things" which seems to call forth most animadversion, is the fact that a few men are very rich, and most men comparatively poor. This has existed ever since human society was founded. It is and always has been objectionable, and if it can be remedied, ought to be remedied. But anybody who has a remedy for it ought at once to produce it on paper. Any one who thinks it can be changed by act of Congress ought to draft a bill for the purpose and publish it. If Jay Gould, for instance, has too much money, the precise means by which his fortune ought to be reduced should be described, and the persons among whom it is to be distributed ought to be pointed out. If "colossal fortunes" are dangerous to the State, there is no use in repeating that colossal fortunes are bad things; we ought to be told how their growth is to be prevented. In like manner, if there are too many poor in New York or any other large city, in proportion to the number of rich people, we ought to hear how many poor a city like New York ought to have, and how their number is to be kept fixed, and how a man who is rescued from poverty by the State is to be kept from falling back into it again. Congressman Butterworth is just as competent to do this as any of his colleagues.

The fondness of the laborers, too, for parades like that of "Labor Day," as a means of "showing their strength," is wholly, or almost wholly, due to the notion that somebody is keeping them out of something which he will surrender when he sees how numerous they are. This is the sole object of showing "strength." It is a sort of semi-hostile demonstration, like the naval and military reviews to which European sovereigns treat their enemies or rivals. It means that if the rest of the community does not let them have their due, some sort of compulsion for which "strength"



is necessary will be resorted to. This notion is kept alive and encouraged by such talk as Mr. Butterworth's. But for it we should, instead of the tomfoolery of "Labor Day," have exhibitions showing how much capital the laborers have; how many commodities they produce and sell on their own account; how little they spend in drink; how much they have done to improve their own dwellings and raise their standards of living, and to increase their mental and moral culture. These are the things on which civilized men nowadays pride, or ought to pride, themselves. It is the kind of men we are, and not how many of us there are, which most concerns, or ought most to concern, all of us.

#### DIRT AND DISORDER.

MAYOR HEWITT's remarks on the indifference of householders in this city to the condition of the streets, and the habit of dumping ashes and garbage in front of their doors in disregard of the appearance of the streets or the health and comfort of their neighbors, suggest an interesting inquiry as to the cause of the difference in this respect between the people of New England and those of New York. Anybody who has crossed the line from Massachusetts or Connecticut into this State along the ordinary highroads, must soon have been made painfully aware of the great inferiority of the New York standard of neatness as regards the care of streets and dwellings. We believe from a very early period the householder in a New England village who allowed his yard to become dirty or disorderly and his fences to get out of repair, or made the sidewalk or highroad a receptacle for refuse of any description, incurred serious social discredit. Gen. Francis A. Walker, in an address on the "Labor Problem" some months ago, confessed to a falling off in this respect, owing to the influx into the New England towns and villages of foreign immigrants with low standards of living. There is, however, considerable difference between the various European countries which send us additions to our population. The Irish are probably the most careless and squalid, as is natural in a people whose only protection against a steady rise in rent was the assiduous external manifestation of great poverty. The Germans, whose social training is better than that of any other immigrants except the Swedes and Norwegians, on the whole leave little to be desired. The Italians and Hungarians are mostly birds of passage, who do not care how they live, as long as they can save money, and rarely become householders.

But we doubt whether any of them would, if left to themselves, make settlements displaying less regard to appearances than even the prosperous towns and villages of northern and central New York, or, indeed, we may say, any part of New York. These all seem pervaded by that extraordinary indifference to appearances outside their homes which in New York city tolerates the use of the streets as stable-yards, and the sidewalks and gutters as dumping-ground. One might go along the whole of the rich Mohawk Valley without finding a single town or village in which people seemed to care particularly what becomes of their refuse after it leaves their

kitchens, or whether their yard fences are repaired or painted, or whether the roadside is overgrown with weeds or the gutters choked with rubbish, or whether the yard itself is mown or trimmed.

In New England, in the days before lawnmowers, long grass in the yards was not uncommon, but since the introduction of these useful implements, one rarely sees a bit of lawn which is not kept in pretty good order, or flowers which do not seem to be tended. On the New York side of the line one rarely sees any sign of the lawn mower's existence. The yard, if the owner has no cattle or sheep to graze it, is apt to be a tangle of grass and weeds, which, but for the path to the door, would lead one to suppose that the house was deserted. The fences are very apt to be broken down or much decayed and defaced. No one, for instance, who walked through the suburbs of Johnstown would dream that it was one of the oldest and most prosperous villages in the State. The dwellings generally have an air of poverty and decay. They seem to be the abodes of people who have been worsted in the struggle for existence and are too dispirited to care what their surroundings are, or to be willing to carry their garbage further than the nearest hollow in the road, or to spend ten minutes in the evening cutting down the grass and weeds which grow up to their windows and almost exclude the light. One of the most odious characteristics of such places, too, is that if one turns up a tempting wood path, or tries to follow the meanderings of a pretty stream, one is pretty sure to light soon on a dumping-ground, heaped high with the refuse of the neighboring houses. The practice seems to be, when refuse is not deposited in the street, to carry it to the nearest secluded or shady place, and unload it close by the path or roadway, or in whatever spot, not visible from the windows, is most easily reached.

In fact, there is no part of the country in which the village improvement societies that have done so much to make many New England villages charming and attractive, are more needed than in New York. The spirit of indifference to dirt and squalor and disorder in one's surroundings, which makes the problem of street cleaning so formidable in the city, extends over the whole State. Unhappily, too, it seems to go hand in hand with the liquor traffic. The dirtier and more unkempt and uncared for the streets and houses are, in any particular locality, we may be sure the more liquor shops it contains. Whatever local splendor or neatness there may be, is, in fact, apt to find most expression in the bar-rooms. The proportion of bar-rooms to population, too, is, in towns of 3,000 to 5,000 inhabitants, like Herkimer, for instance, something appalling. Of course a rousing liquor business soon extirpates among the men all care about the neatness or prettiness of home or its surroundings. It is always easier to tiddle and gabble in a bar-room than cut grass in one's yard, or mend or paint one's fences, or provide for the burial of one's garbage. Nothing destroys the horror of dirt and disorder, which is what most distinguishes the civilized man from the savage, more rapidly and thoroughly than frequent drinking. What makes the phenomenon of New York untidi-

ness all the more inscrutable is that the State was largely settled by two of the tidiest and cleanliest peoples in the world—the Dutch and the Yankees.

#### THE ART OF MAKING MONEY.

THE Boston *Herald* has been trying to cater to the tastes of its Sunday readers by consulting a number of rich men as to the easiest way of getting rich, and printing their answers. Barnum said it was quite simple: all you have to do is to spend less than you earn, and to "shun rum and tobacco." Gen. Butler's advice was to buy improved real estate, partly for cash and partly for small notes, this being the way he became rich himself. Mr. Faxon, the temperance advocate, advised the practice of "sobriety, industry, economy, and faithfulness." Mr. Erasmus Wiman warned young men against speculation, and maintained that "legitimate trade, the honest, plodding routine of life, was the true basis for good fortune," and that if a young man does not obtain riches through these, he will at least deserve them. Mr. Asa Potter advised a young man to "select a business that is congenial to him," and, while carrying it on, to be "industrious, temperate, and patient." Mr. Miller Pillsbury, "the flour king" of Minneapolis, recommended exceedingly hard work and a just estimate of one's own abilities. Mr. Russell Sage, for his part, advised the young man to commit to memory, as he did, the advice of *Polydorus to Laertes*, and try to live up to it. Any one who does this, he says, is as certain to become wealthy as "the night is to follow the day."

It will be easily seen that none of these eminent men had a word to say to people eager to get rich, beyond the commonplaces of worldly philosophy—except, perhaps, Gen. Butler, who did descend into details. But, of course, nobody who values the General's advice on any subject supposes that he owes his "competent fortune," as he once called it, to investing small savings in improved real estate. The fact is, that, barring the men who make a fortune by a single "big strike" in some sort of speculation, there is probably no millionaire who can tell how he became rich—that is, what the qualities or practices were which most aided him in acquiring wealth. All millionaires probably think they know, but they really do not. If the best means of acquiring wealth could be communicated to others by successful practitioners, the art of making money could and would be taught in schools and colleges. There would be professors of money-making as there are of "journalism," but they would have to be rich men, because a poor man teaching people how to escape poverty would be a somewhat ludicrous object. The fact that there are no such schools or colleges is, in truth, the best possible proof that the art of money-making is unteachable, because there is no art in which the demand for instruction is so widespread and so fierce.

The reason why the causes of success in getting rich cannot be communicated is probably the same which prevents the cause of success

in any calling from being communicated. To say that a man succeeds through industry and integrity is a mere platitude. These qualities may help a man a good deal, but they are evidently not essential, for a great many men succeed without them, and tens of thousands who have them do not succeed. In fact, we cannot put our finger on a single quality or gift which is necessary to make a man a millionaire, nor can we say what the exact combination of qualities or gifts is which makes a man succeed in anything. It appears to be just as hard, if we may judge from the number of failures, to succeed at the bar, or in medicine, or divinity, or soldiering, as in money making. The men who succeed, all know of something which was of great use to them in rising, but not one knows of anything or any two or three things in the absence of which he would certainly have failed.

If anybody had asked Napoleon, or Wellington, or Grant to explain to him how he won battles, he would have got no better answers than the Boston *Herald* got from the millionaires about money-making. The great general to whom such a foolish question was put would have answered that he could not tell; that training was, of course, very valuable, but that in the last resort what did the business was good judgment at critical moments, and that this judgment had its source partly in character and partly in experience. A man with the money-making talent knows "a good thing," that is, a desirable investment or venture, when he sees it. How he knows it he cannot explain. In fact, there is no talent which is so deeply hidden away in the recesses of a man's mental and moral constitution; there are no trustworthy outward signs of it; neither temperament nor education indicates it or produces it. This, as we have said, is in some degree true of talent in all callings, but in a much smaller degree in all others than in what is called "business." In every calling, success is a personal attribute, something which comes out of a man's brain and character, and which he can neither share nor transmit nor explain. All he can say is that he somehow knew how to do things well, and when to do them and when to let them alone.

#### THE NEW IRISH ACTS.

DUBLIN, August 27, 1887.

THE new Land Act has now been issued. Jeremy Bentham complained of English legislation that, "as if from a rubbish cart, a continually increasing and ever shapeless mass of law is from time to time shot down upon the heads of the people; and out of this rubbish and at his peril is each man left to pick out what belongs to him." The Irish Land Laws are an example of this legal rubbish shooting. This last of our many land laws is ambiguous, involved, and obscure; but not more so than previous acts. The Land Law of 1881 was described from the bench by a judge as "like a Chinese puzzle." The new Act, though not very long, refers to so many other acts which are wholly or partly incorporated with it, or to be read with it, that it is somewhat of a puzzle to put them together and extract the general meaning. Scarcely any measure of more general relief could now be taken in

land than a consolidation and codification in plain language of our wonderfully complex and contradictory budget of land laws, under which neither landlord nor tenant can deal with their respective estates without legal aid, and but rarely without litigation.

The general provisions of the new Land Law are as follows:

(1.) Almost every agricultural leaseholder may enter the rent courts and have a fair rent fixed on his farm for a term of fifteen years.

(2.) The provisions excluding what are, under the present law, "town parks" from the operation of the Land Law of 1881, are slightly relaxed in favor of occupants of some classes of these holdings.

(3.) Ejectments are facilitated by substitution of a formal notice for the actual execution of the ejectment, after which the ejected tenant had six months during which he could redeem his tenancy.

(4.) Changes are made in the law of purchase, facilitating sales, and affecting owners and encumbrancers rather than landlords and tenants.

(5.) The rate of interest on loans made to tenants for the purchase of their farms under the Land Act of 1870, the Church Act, and the Land Law of 1881 is reduced to 3½ per cent., and the time for repayment is extended.

(6.) Judicial rents fixed before 1886 are to be altered by order of the Land Commission so as to differ from the amounts originally fixed "by the difference in prices affecting agriculture" at present and in the years in which such rents were fixed. Evictions for non-payment of judicial rents may in certain cases be temporarily stayed.

The admission of leaseholders to the rent courts has been refused by every Government since 1881, though repeatedly and urgently demanded as a matter of justice and equality. It is a tardy concession, given only on compulsion. It is better, however, for the leaseholders who have tried through the past trying years, to go into court now, when the permanent fall in prices is recognized, and its effect on farming understood, than it would have been in 1881. English public opinion is now less likely to influence the courts in favor of the landlords, who, as a class, have ceased to have any political importance.

The provision for altering judicial rents according to "the difference in prices affecting agriculture" is vague and obscure; but it seems to be understood by the Government and the Land Commission to mean that the rents in the several unions are to be reduced in the same proportion as prices have fallen. The word "agriculture" is not being taken in its strict sense; the average changes in prices of all products, whether agricultural or pastoral, are being ascertained by the Land Commission, but rates of taxes and the price of labor, both of which affect agriculture directly, are left out of consideration.

There is no chance whatever of this provision giving satisfaction. Every one knows that a fall in the prices of farm products should be attended by a very much larger percentage of diminution in the rent than that which has taken place in the prices. But the Cabinet overlooked this until the bill had passed the House of Commons; and at the last moment the Government altered in the Lords the clause they had agreed to in the Commons. This was apparently due to representations of the Land Commissioners that, under the clause as it originally stood, requiring them to determine "what alteration if any ought equitably to be made" in the rents, they would in equity have been bound to reduce some rents 40, 50, and 60 per cent., and in some cases to make even larger reductions. The change of the wording of the Bill was made because what was plainly equitable would involve a loss to the

class who, in this case, had voting power enough to do as they pleased.

The probable result will be that where the judicial reductions seem insufficient, the Plan of Campaign will be resorted to. The task of trying to fix fair rents is an impossible one; no rule of fairness has yet been found. "Unkindness has no remedy at law," nor can the courts deal with this question, which is one of morals more than of law and fact. Low rents may be ascertained, and, if fixed, may be paid. Value, whether annual or suble, is capable of being approximately estimated, and, according as the rents or prices are more or less below this estimate, so are they low or the reverse. But this pursuit of fairness, or any rule by which it can be ascertained, is a delusion.

The operation of the clause for altering rents in butter districts is already being freely discussed in the south. The yield, owing to the great drought, has been very small—according to some estimates, it is less than half the average; but the price has increased from 30 to 40 per cent., probably on account of the deficient yield. It is the same with other produce that is not affected by foreign imports; the yield of hay and potatoes is small, the prices are high. The wheat crop is good, but the amount of the home grown crop practically has no appreciable effect on the price.

The Coercion Act was passed mainly with a view to the Plan of Campaign. It is already in operation; the National League is proclaimed as dangerous; prosecutions have been commenced. The hostile mind, however, continues in full vigor notwithstanding the proclamation; and there seems likely to be a sharp competition among Nationalists as to who shall get first into prison. If the Land Law and Crimes Act were ever so just and necessary, the fact of their administration being wholly in the hands of the anti-Nationalist minority would make them appear unjust. The one pleasant feature in the present condition of affairs is the diminution of international ill-feeling, which is due to the hearty support given to the National party by the Gladstonian Liberals. For a long time Michael Davitt, alone among Irish Nationalists, preached peace and good-will between the Irish and the English peoples. But now a strong political section of Englishmen is seeking to substitute, for the nominal union of Government, a real union of interest and affection between the two countries, and its efforts, earnestness, and kindly feeling are recognized and reciprocated. An organized series of public meetings in England, to be addressed by leading Home Rulers, has been arranged for the autumn and winter months; but it is possible that the Irish members may be in prison or occupied with the direction of affairs at home.

On the whole, the winter may be expected to be one of unrest, political and social disturbance, unless the landlords make a new departure and accept the proposal made by Archbishop Walsh to confer with the Nationalists as to the terms of a temporary and permanent settlement of the land war. Late though it be, they might even now with advantage to themselves take to heart and act upon Edmund Burke's words, that "early reformations are amicable arrangements with a friend in power; late reformations are terms imposed upon a conquered enemy."

A LAND VALUER.

#### MILITARY SWITZERLAND.

PARIS, August 22, 1887.

I SPOKE in my last letter of the military preparations being made in Belgium for the eventual defence of her neutrality. A few days ago the King of the Belgians took the opportunity afford-



ed by the unveiling of statues to two heroes of the old struggles against the Spaniards in Flanders, to remind his subjects of the necessity of active efforts for the perpetuation of the nation's independence. "The life of nations is a perpetual struggle," said he; and liberty must be defended at times by the sword. King Leopold, who is the most prudent of sovereigns—as prudent, certainly, as his father, who was once called the "Nestor of Kings"—must have had very strong reasons for emerging as he did from the constitutional cloud in which he lives, and giving thus an indirect advice to his Chambers on the question of compulsory military service.

The tendency of the times seems to be adverse to small countries, and Belgium is a small country: it takes only little more than an hour to go by rail from the French frontier to Brussels. But the Belgians do not seem at all inclined to cease to be a nation, and they show no desire to be merged in a larger nationality. The same may be said of Switzerland; and, historically speaking, the Swiss have even a better right than the Belgians to preserve the dignity of a separate nation. Few people have not visited the shores of the admirable Lake of Lucerne, and the world-famous spots where the "little Cantons" became the nucleus of Switzerland. At a time when there was no artillery those small Cantons were almost impregnable fortresses, especially the four Cantons which are grouped on the various branches of the Lake, the "Vierwaldstädte." The confederation had its birth in the three primitive Cantons (*Urcantons*), Unterwalden, Uri, and Schwitz. When you are on the Lake, you are always shown the place near the Axenberg, with its little chapel built in 1388, where Tell jumped on the rock from the bark of Gessler; on the other side, at the foot of the Seelisberg, is the famous Grütli. Not far from Flüelen is a fountain with the statue of Tell built on the place where he is supposed to have hit the apple with his arrow. The inexpressible beauty of these shores, the calm of the valleys which open from distance upon distance on the Lake, do not make you think of war; but you are reminded of the preoccupations of the present time by the military road which follows, like a serpent, all the indentations and curves of the Lake. Everything is ready for the transport of an army from the great plain of Switzerland to the mountains, which now, as in old times, would be the strongholds of Swiss liberty.

The Swiss, by a strange contrast, are bound to neutrality, and still they are among the most military races of the world. Their spirit can be well judged by the extraordinary levies which have been made in their country down to very recent times. Before the French Revolution they had in the foreign service twenty-nine regiments, which formed an army of 50,000 men. Twenty thousand of these men were in the pay of the French monarchy, and it has been calculated that the French levies of the thirteen Cantons amounted in three centuries after Louis XI. to 700,000 men. Baron Zurlauben wrote a very valuable history of these Swiss regiments. France kept at all times an ambassador in Berne (though Berne is a small residence), with the special function of seeing to all the details of these levies and to all the articles of the treaties made by France with the Cantons. These Swiss regiments had their own rules, their own discipline; they were commanded by men who belonged to the best families of the Cantons. I have an old friend who saw before the Revolution of 1830 a council of war in a Swiss regiment; the officers formed a circle, and the accused soldier was judged without appeal. The military law of the Swiss was almost Draconian, and their admirable discipline made them a model for all armies.

In our long wars of religion in the sixteenth

century the Swiss regiments played a very important part. They were always on the royal side; they saved the Catholic army at the battle of Dreux; they saved the young King during the famous retreat from Meaux to Paris. Sometimes, however, they refused to fight—it was when they were not paid; at least they waited till they were paid before fighting. The army was a profession for the poor shepherds of the High Alps. After a few years of service they came back with a pension and sometimes a little booty; the officers received titles and pensions.

The French had a proverb, "Pas d'argent, pas de Suisse." Napoleon, for his campaign of 1817, asked the Confederation for a force of 16,000 men. The old monarchy had found its last defenders in the Swiss who were massacred on the steps of the Tuileries. I was visiting a few days ago the beautiful monument of Thorwaldsen at Lucerne. I had seen it often before, but it seemed to me even more beautiful in the morning light, with the azure shining through the branches of the overhanging trees. Time has improved the *cadre* of the dying lion; the trees are larger, the whole scene seems more solemn. Thousands and thousands of travellers pay their homage to this monument; it may have faults in point of art, but it is a thing always to remember, it speaks really to the soul.

The Bourbons, after the Restoration, formed six Swiss regiments, two of which were a part of what was called the Royal Guard. Since 1830 there have been no more Swiss regiments in the French Army; but for many years after that date there were Swiss troops in Naples and in Rome. In 1848 the Federal Constitution formally interdicted the levies in the Cantons, and ever since Switzerland has only been occupied in organizing its own forces and its own defence. In 1847, at the time of the so-called *Sonderbund*, the thirteen Liberal Cantons were leagued against the seven Cantons of the *Sonderbund*. The Liberal army had no fewer than 60,000 men, with 74 guns; Neuchâtel and Appenzell took no part in the struggle. The Constitution has always in principle forbidden the existence of a permanent army in the interior of the country; the military forces of the country are there formed by the militia. The Swiss are all good shots and take much pleasure in the *tirs à l'arme*, which are the great festivals of the Confederacy. One of my friends who lives in Geneva told me once that every Genevese was born a watchmaker, a radical, and a carbineer. The mountaineers who are accustomed to hunt the chamois are first rate shots, and the competition for the prizes is very ardent in these great *tirs*.

All citizens from the age of twenty to the age of forty-four are liable to military service. There is, however, an exemption tax, but it can only be paid under conditions determined by law. The militia compose the active army, or *armée d'élite*; the Federal army (*Rundschweizer*) represents three per cent. of the population, and is composed of the young men between twenty and thirty years; then comes a first reserve of men from thirty to forty years, which forms one and a half per cent. of the population; then another reserve, or *Landwehr*, which is only called out in time of great national danger. The first two classes can furnish 106,000 men; 83,000 for the infantry (36 battalions of *fusiliers* and 8 of *tirailleurs*); 3,500 for the cavalry (24 squadrons of dragoons and 12 companies of guides); 14,000 men for the artillery (50 batteries); and 3,000 men for the engineers (8 battalions, besides the *pontoniers* and *pionniers*); and there are, besides, the staff, the surgeons, and the troops of the administration. The *Landwehr*, which has the same *cadres*, with the sole difference that its artillery is only half the artillery of the active army, can contribute as many as 97,000 men. In time of

war, it is therefore expected that Switzerland can bring to the front an army of 203,000 men.

The mobilization of the army would require 20,000 horses. There are in all nine divisions, subdivided into brigades. The militiamen, who are equipped by the Cantons, are placed under the orders of the Cantonal authorities, in the limits admitted by the Federal power, who call the men, dispose of them, furnish their arms, instruct them, and keep the men every year long enough to teach them the manœuvres and the use of arms. There are several corps of cadets, and the military academy of Thun trains the under-officers and the officers. The officers are appointed by the Federal Council, on the proposition of the Cantons; but the choice of the Commander-in-Chief belongs only to the Federal Assembly, which chooses him from among the Federal Colonels, the highest grade of the officers in the Federal army. Some of these Federal Colonels are very remarkable men, well known in military circles. They travel, see foreign wars and foreign countries, and their reports are read with much interest.

The troops are only paid during the manœuvres or in time of war. A question which for many years has been a subject of discussion in the Confederacy is this: Ought Switzerland, like all other countries of Europe, to have artificial strongholds and fortified towns? The wars of the French Revolution and the campaign of 1815, during which the Allies invaded the Swiss territory, have proved that the natural ramparts of the Alps are not invulnerable; nevertheless, the Alps are still considered as the natural defence of the country. Military roads cut in various directions would permit the rapid concentration of the army in a first line of defence in the mountains; behind this there is a second line of defence. The Swiss trust in the undoubted courage of their army and in the strategy of their officers. They have done nothing to fortify their frontiers, not even on the line of the Rhine and on the side of Geneva, where those frontiers are the weakest; on the other hand, nothing has been spared in the improvement of the militia, the military education of the officers, and the armament. As it is, the Swiss Army would, in my opinion, be a formidable adversary; and the Swiss may console themselves for having no fortifications by the thought that year after year the progress of artillery makes fortifications useless. They have saved all the money which would have been spent in forts and ramparts; and the time may come when, at little expense, they will find themselves well fortified in the weak parts of the frontier by a few steel cupolas.

#### PALÆO-ITALIC ARCHEOLOGY.

PARIS, August 20, 1887.

IN the years 1886 and 1887 a citizen of Boston, Mr. Dana Estes, surveyed the opening and clearing of about twenty-four ancient tombs in the immediate vicinity of Belluno (province of Venice). He was fortunate enough to secure possession of the objects discovered, which must now have safely reached the United States. On his way home, Mr. Estes passed through Saint-Germain, and kindly showed me a part of his interesting collection—about one third, as he told me, the remainder having been directly forwarded to America. These discoveries demand serious attention. They are remarkable and admirably preserved specimens of an archaeological series hitherto little attended to—completely unknown, I venture to state, to most professional scholars out of Italy—the study of which, however, is calculated to throw a quite new and unexpected light on the remotest ages in the Italian peninsula. Very few museums in Europe possess antiquities of that class, and I am almost certain that Mr.

Estes's palæo-Italic collection has been the first to cross the Atlantic. The possessor will undoubtedly take the trouble of publishing the narrative of his discoveries, with select engravings from the most important types; he will thus render a real service to archaeological study by facilitating comparisons between the contents of the Belluno tombs and the spoils of other cemeteries in the valley of the Po.

Meanwhile, and with Mr. Estes's permission, I seize the occasion of a palæo-Italic series having been shipped to America, to summarize our actual knowledge about these curious antiquities, which must be carefully distinguished from the works of Etruscan and of Roman industry. I do not intend to describe what I have seen of Mr. Estes's collection; I must leave to him the honor and the pleasure of doing so. It will suffice for my purpose to say that the entire lot was discovered in cup-shaped tombs, the sides of which are walled with small irregular stones, superposed without any mortar, and covered with a large lid of tufa. Inside each tomb was a vase in earthenware, affecting a form of frequent occurrence in coeval cemeteries, and also some minor urns, in earthenware or in bronze; the principal vase contained the ashes of the deceased, no case of inhumation having been observed. Among the ashes were found different implements, such as large bronze fibulae or safety-pins, ornamental bronze pendants of various designs, beads of yellow amber and of colored glassware or porcelain, iron spearheads, etc. The fibulae are peculiarly worthy of attention; they belong to a well-known type, that of Villanova, and are decorated with engravings in the geometrical style. Some of them are ornamented with small bronze rings or glass beads suspended to the brooch, others (and this is a very rare occurrence) have their upper end, where the pin is inserted, shaped in the form of animals, the design of which recalls the primitive engravings and rude figures on the bronze implements from Koban in the Caucasus and from Hallstatt in upper Austria. Similar objects, but of inferior quality, were obtained in 1870 by M. Leicht from tombs discovered in the suburbs of Belluno, and described by the finder in a short pamphlet, 'Avanzi preistorici nel Bellunese' (Belluno, 8vo, 1871). Some archaeologists may fancy that the interest of a discovery is greater when nothing like it has yet occurred. This is an error which even simple dilettanti ought not to share. The chief object of archaeology, as Gerhard and Longpérier often repeated, is to form series, to reveal and define the geographical and chronological limits, both in space and in time, within which the works of the same art or industry are to be encountered. From this point of view, we may say that Mr. Estes's collection is specially interesting, because they occupy a definite place in a large sequence of analogous discoveries made not only in the valley of the Po, but in that of the Danube and of the Rhone, on a line which can now be followed uninterruptedly from Hungary to the eastern province of France.

The name of anteo- or palæo-Italic archaeology is a happy idea of Count Conestabile, the celebrated Etruscan scholar. Being rather vague, this appellation has the advantage of not prejudicing the obscure question about the race (or the races) to which belonged the people who, previously to the Romans, the Greeks, and the Etruscans, scattered the vestiges of their civilization on Italian ground. The culture of northern Italy, so far as it is neither Etruscan nor Græco-Roman, is also styled Villanova culture, from the name of a necropolis of two hundred tombs discovered in the vicinity of Bologna. Formerly (that is, until about the middle of the present century) archaeologists used the word Etruscan in as wide and much-abused a sense as that of

Pelasgic; everything which seemed in Italy to be neither Greek nor Roman was styled Pelasgic or Etruscan. Recent researches, the results of which were for the first time condensed and tested by public discussion at the International Congress of Bologna in 1871, enable us now to investigate with greater precision the remote periods of Italian archaeology. The principal conclusions which have been obtained and are generally admitted, may be stated as follows:

Firstly, thanks to Bonucci, Capellini, and others, it has been ascertained that Italy, like France and Great Britain, went through a *palæolithic* period, in which the use of metals was unknown. In spite of much dispute and contradiction, it seems certain that the period in question was of less importance in Italy than in England, and especially in France. This is evidently the case for the second part of the *palæolithic* period, the principal feature of which are the bone-caves with organic deposits. Such caves are by no means rare in Italy, but a great number of them belong to a later epoch, and, as the reindeer does not appear to have passed the Alps, no traces have been found there of the remarkable development of sculpture and engraving on bone and horn which gives so high an interest to the caves of Périgord and of Switzerland.

After the *palæolithic* period we find, as elsewhere, the *neolithic* or polished-stone age, when the first metallic implements were introduced in Italy by the rising flood of commerce. In fact, it is now generally acknowledged that the polished stone period cannot be strictly distinguished from the age of metals, but the development of this idea would carry us too far. Archaeologists have not yet come to an understanding about the primitive importers of metal implements: some believe them to have been Phœnicians, others admit a gypsy-like immigration of small metal-working tribes, which, originating in Central Asia or the Altaic region, gradually spread through Europe, following the valleys of the Dnieper, the Danube, and the Po. Two facts, however, are certain: (1) that the bronze implements of the most ancient period afford, from one extremity of Europe to the other, and particularly in Central Europe, a striking similarity in shape and in the composition of metal. As we gradually get nearer to the historical period, the resemblances between implements from different regions are found to diminish—a result which, combined with the discovery of moulds and foundries, goes to prove that the industry of bronze soon became localized in various centres, such as Hallstatt in Austria and Bologna in Italy; (2) that when bronze implements become numerous, the custom of incineration more and more replaces that of inhumation, an evident sign that some change has occurred in the religious ideas and habits of the European communities, perhaps also that a new race of men has entered the scene, not necessarily in large numbers, but with a superior power of assimilation and proselytism. That race may be the Aryans, but this is as yet a mere hypothesis, and is sternly denied by the school of Latham, Penka, and others, who place the birthplace of Aryan civilization in Scandinavia.

If we compare the *neolithic* period in Italy with the similar period in France, so well known by the methodical investigations of the dolmens of Brittany, we perceive the following discrepancies: (1.) Dolmens are not to be found in Italy; the so-called *Cyclopean* walls of the ancient cities and the *nuraghs* of Sardinia are of a quite different and later character. (2.) The stone implements or celts in jade, jadite, chloromelanite, and other rare or non-European materials—which are frequent in Brittany, where they must have been introduced by commerce, and are also to be found in the lake-dwellings of Switzerland—seem al-

most or completely wanting in Italy. (3.) Northern Italy possesses lake-dwellings similar to those which exist in Switzerland, but they have not been met with in the other parts of ancient Gaul. The lake-dwellings of northern Italy, carefully studied since 1863, must be put on the same line with the so-called *terramare*, the investigation of which began about 1865 and has recently afforded Prof. Helbig the subject of a most interesting book, 'Die Italiker in der Poebene.' The *terramare*, as everybody knows, are accumulations of debris, forming deposits of ammoniacal earth, which the peasants used as manure. They were called cemetery earth, from the belief that they marked the place of Roman *ustrine*. A more attentive study of the fragments and implements they contain, enlightened by the discovery of the Swiss lake-dwellings by Keller in 1854, proved that the *terramare* are the remains of very ancient pile-buildings belonging to the earliest age of metal. When the study of these deposits had only just begun, the Swiss archaeologist Morlot compared them to the kitchen-middens of Denmark, another variety of accumulated debris, but dating from the remote *palæolithic* period, in which the use of metal was still unknown. Although Morlot's parallel has often been repeated, it can no longer be maintained. The *terramare* must be compared to the lake-dwellings, and are, in fact, nothing but artificial lake-dwellings, established in a moorland and wet country, in the interest both of health and of security. This system of pile-building, which has been observed at Castione and elsewhere, would suffice to make a link between the early populations of Switzerland, of northern Italy, and of the Austrian Alps, where other lake-dwellings have been discovered; and this view is quite supported by the similarity of the stone and bronze implements obtained from the *terramare* and from the lakes. It must also be borne in mind that ancient writers have mentioned lake-dwellings in Macedonia and near the Caucasus—that is, on the very road which seems to have been followed by the *neolithic* and early metallic culture of central Europe.

Another fact which must be insisted upon is that the age of bronze *alone*, excluding the use of iron, if even such an age may be spoken of, cannot have been of long duration in Italy. Iron implements are already met with in the most ancient cemeteries of Gallia Cisalpina, such as Villanova, Golasecca, and Chiusi. There never existed in the Peninsula, any more than in France, a well-defined and characterized *bronze age*, such as has been so successfully studied since 1830 on the soil of Sweden and of Denmark. No doubt, during the most ancient period, the weapons and personal ornaments were made of bronze, in Italy as well as in France, a preference which may be accounted for by various reasons—the pleasing radiance of new-melted bronze; the very bad quality of primitive iron; the ugly and destructive effects of rust; perhaps, also, some religious ideas, as expressed in the old Latin inscription, "Ferrum pium esto." But we may safely assert that iron tools were used in Italy as early as ten or eleven centuries B. C. To find similar implements in Sweden, we must go down to the period of the Roman Empire—a proof that an *exclusive* bronze civilization is nothing like the effect of some universal law, but a local fact special to the countries of northern Europe.

The pottery which has been gathered from the *terramare* is particularly instructive. Although very rude and unskilful, it presents the same character as most of the earliest vases found in the cemeteries of the Po valley, and in the oldest tombs in the necropolis of Corneto in Etruria. In the latter necropolis, where there appears a civilization closely connected with the culture of the *terramare*, excavations have recently brought



to light a funeral *hut-urn* of a type which had hitherto only been found in Latium. These urns are probably imitations of the pile-buildings erected by the inhabitants of the *terramare*.

A very ancient tradition, which archaeological discoveries have confirmed, asserts that the Etruscans, who appear to us in the height of their power about the sixth century B. C., were not a homogeneous race, but an amalgam of two different peoples: an Italic population, superior in number, and a Tyrrhenian warlike aristocracy of Oriental origin. That aristocracy introduced into Italy the Etruscan language, a curious monument of which seems to have recently been found at Lemnos, in the northern part of the Ægean. No doubt the conquerors also brought with them Oriental works of art, which, together with the models introduced by Phœnician, Carthaginian, and Greek commerce, gave rise to imitations to which Etruscan art owes its peculiar interest and flavor. But Etruscan art, just like the Etruscan people, is not homogeneous. We see the Oriental and Hellenic influences steadily gaining ground, but the primitive stratum of Tuscan industry belongs to a far more ancient period than the Tyrrhenian conquest. If we study the cemeteries of the Villanova type, which are very numerous in Italy northwards from the Apennines, we soon discover that the bronze and iron implements found in these tombs present a most striking uniformity, and that the Oriental elements are very rare or even missing in the most ancient ones. What seems to us Oriental, in those primitive works of industry, recalls the most archaic vases from the Ægean, the rude bronzes gathered in the deepest strata at Olympia, and belongs, in consequence, to a period anterior to that of Semitic influence. Thus it has been possible to distinguish two utterly different elements in Etruscan art: (1) a layer or stage which might be called Aryan, which on Italian ground is better styled *paleo-Italic*, and seems to have been the common property of the people who, more than ten centuries B. C., probably more than fourteen, emigrated towards the west in following the valley of the Danube; (2) a derivative art, imitating the Oriental and the classical Hellenic style, formed under the influence of the steady commercial intercourse between Etruria on the one hand, Greece, Phœnicia, and Carthage on the other. Until quite lately, the latter element was believed to be the whole of Etruscan art, though it is only the more recent and the most superficial part of it. Thus the *Italic* art of Villanova forms a complete contrast with the *Oriental* art of Etruria. However, the culture of Villanova having lasted during many centuries, and the Etruscan power having extended to the north of the Apennines, the Villanovan art experienced, to a large extent, the influence of Hellenized Etruscism. For that reason it is often difficult to distinguish, in the cemeteries around Bologna and elsewhere, what is Villanovan from what is Etruscan. The fibulae with figures of animals found at Belluno by Mr. Dana Estes go to prove that the necropolis he has explored belongs to the Etruscanized class, and must rank along with the cemetery of the Certosa near Bologna, while, on the contrary, no Etruscan influence is yet to be traced in the necropolis of Villanova.

Count Conestabile, at the Congress of Bologna in 1871, proposed to distinguish four strata in the primitive ethnology of Italy, not including the period anterior to the use of metals, which is entirely involved in darkness. These immigrants, Conestabile believed, all belong to the Aryan family, but succeeded each other at various epochs and followed different ways. (1) The *Pelasgo-aborigines*, who entered the Peninsula by the Alps; they are identical with the inhabitants of the *terramare*; (2) the *Umbrians* and the

*Latins*, forming the group which Mommsen calls *Italote*, who took the same road as their predecessors, and penetrated to the southern end of Italy; (3) and (4) the *Græco-Pelasgi* and the *Tyrchenian-Pelasgi*, who both arrived in Italy by the sea route.

We are perhaps able to define a little more the second group mentioned by Count Conestabile. It was observed a long time ago that the Italic languages, the best known of which is Latin, closely resemble the Celtic dialect; we also know that the Umbrians were, to say the least, near relations of the Celtic tribes, a result which is partly due to the excavations ordered in 1861 at Città d'Umbria by an American archaeologist, Mr. Alexander Wolf. Now, the Greek writers show that the Celts, at the most ancient period of history, extended over the valley of the Danube, the valley of the Po, and Gaul. Consequently, we are induced to believe that the cemeteries of the Austrian Alps, those of the Po and the Rhone valleys, which yield monuments of very similar civilizations, equally advanced in the industry of metal, are, in reality, Celtic cemeteries. Perhaps the more recent parts of these necropolises should be styled Gaulish and not Celtic, if we admit with M. Bertrand that the Celts belong to a former migration, and that the Gauls, ethnographically connected with the Celts, subdued the Celtic populations about the fifth century B. C., thanks to their knowledge of more powerful iron weapons, and that they continued to live among or over the Celts in the manner of a conquering aristocracy. For our part, we do not hesitate to believe that the necropolis of Belluno, like that of Hallstatt and that of Aïaise, near Besançon, is a Celtic, Celto-Gaulish, or Umbrian cemetery, anterior to the seventh century B. C., Celts, Gauls, and Umbrians being only considered as kindred tribes or fractions of the same stock.

Are the Celts of northern Italy the descendants of the lake-dwellers and pile-builders? Probably; but positive proofs are still wanting. We have spoken above of the pottery of Villanova, which seems to be the continuation of the pottery in the *terramare*, but the value of such an argument should not be overrated. The distinction of the Celtic and Gaulish tribes is of much more importance to history than the confusion of the lake-dwellers with the Celts.

Another Celtic tribe, the Belgians, had followed a quite different route from the Celts and Gauls of northern Italy. Instead of advancing towards the west along the valley of the Danube, they crossed the large plains of Poland and northern Germany, then ascended the valley of the Rhine and established themselves on either side of the river, especially in the northeastern part of Gaul, where Caesar, many centuries later, still recognized them as distinct from the other Gauls. Some groups of Belgian warriors, instead of entering Gaul, made their way to northern Italy, where they joined hands with the Gaulish invaders of Carniola and Helvetia. These were the Gauls who defeated the Romans at the battle of the Albia, after having previously conquered the Etruscans; these were they who became the valorous allies of Hannibal, and remained during centuries in the north of Italy as a perpetual menace to Roman power. An archaeological proof of this was given as early as 1835; in the more recent parts of the Italic cemeteries of Este and Marzabotto, weapons and personal ornaments were discovered absolutely identical with those which had come to light by hundreds in the cemeteries of Caesar's Belgium, especially in the French province of Champagne. It is the merit of M. A. Bertrand to have shown with good arguments that the Gauls of Brennus did not come from central or western Gaul, but were rather distant relations of the other Celtic tribes established for many centuries past in northern Italy.

So we understand how the Etruscans and Romans could describe the invaders as *norionet*, *invisitatum genus hominum*—a phrase which would be almost absurd if the Celts of northern Italy or southeastern Gaul had been meant.

To conclude: we find in Italy not only Græco-Roman and Etruscan art, but a widely spread and most ancient industry, which can be ascribed with much probability to the Celtic tribes hitherto too much neglected by archaeology. To that Celtic or *paleo-Italic* art belong the bronze and earthenware antiquities collected by Mr. Dana Estes. The collection he has brought together can easily bear comparison with any similar collection out of Italy. It is therefore sincerely to be hoped that the discoveries made at Belluno, as well as all similar objects belonging to travellers and dilettanti, may be designed and engraved with the necessary care. Much too few of these relics of ancient art have been as yet adequately published, the greater part of Italian provincial monographs being almost unattainable. Science is in want of numerous documents of that kind, well knowing that no series of antiquities better justifies Gerhard's favorite motto: *Monumentum artis qui unum vidit, nullum vidit, qui mille vidit, unum vidit*.

SALOMON REINACH.

## Correspondence.

### SILVER COINAGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Can you state any reason why there should not be going on at this moment an outside coinage of silver at least equal to that of the Government? It is perfectly easy to make an absolute facsimile of the silver dollar—not a counterfeit, but the identical thing, as to weight, fineness, and stamp, so that the severest Government tests could not tell the difference. Suppose there were factories for this purpose in Europe, in Canada, in Mexico, in South America, in Africa, in China, or Japan. Nothing could be easier than to introduce them into this country, unless it is the putting them in circulation after they get here. The cash profit on the transaction would be more than 30 per cent., and what business is there in the world which will pay that profit with so little risk? When we know what the Jews will do in financing, is it unreasonable to suppose that millions of dollars may be thus infused into our currency every year without anybody being the wiser? It seems to me so strange that no more stress is laid on this by the opponents of our silver law, that I should like to ask if there is any weak spot in the reasoning.

ANTI-SILVER.

SEPTEMBER 5.

[Whatever may be said of the reasoning, the fact is that the thing is not done, although the opportunity to do it has been open ever since the passage of our silver law. It has been open equally in France, Germany, and all other countries which have a large silver circulation passing at par with gold, but intrinsically worth much less. The reason why false coinage is not carried on must be that the difficulty of getting the coins into circulation and the risk of detection outweigh the profits on the transaction. Coins *exactly* like the genuine cannot be produced in a chimney corner.—ED. NATION.]

### TOLSTOI, NIHILISM, AND EDUCATED RUSSIANS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The writer of the article on the "Russian

Realistic Novelists" in this week's *Nation* says, about Tolstoi's 'Two Hussars,' that "it does not appear in the full and authorized edition of Tolstoi's works," and asks whence the story was taken. My edition is dated 1886, in twelve volumes. The second volume, pp. 167-243, contains this tale (*póvjest*), and gives the date as 1856. Although the author's works are here arranged chronologically, this tale, for a reason best known to the publishers, was given a place after 'Albert,' which is dated a year later. The writer's charge that the chief interest which the educated (I greatly dislike the word "upper" which he uses) classes of Russia take in the religious writings of Tolstoi is mainly due to a need of "spiritual excitement," does injustice not only to the thoughtful minds of Russia and to human nature in general, but also, let us hope, to the writer himself. In this country and in England many rich persons devote themselves to charities, and they have often been charged with taking up these charities as a "pastime," as a "sop to their consciences." The charge against the educated Russians and their interest in Tolstoi is as unfair, I venture to think, as that against the charitable rich. There are, doubtless, some rich people who take up charity because it is the fashion, because they must have something to do that is more satisfactory to their better selves than the whirl of social lives which daily becomes more meaningless. There are even some rich people who take up charity because they might thus further their ambition, whether social or political. So there are, likewise, educated Russians who read Tolstoi now because everybody else reads him, because he does furnish a kind of "excitement"; but a general sweeping statement like that of your contributor is, I fear, unjustified.

This is not the place to discuss this point at length. I can only now hint in a few words the point of view from which the matter is to be looked at: *Whoever does not see in the "Nihilistic" revolutionary movement of Russia a religious movement, misreads Russian history for the last twenty-five years.* The "Nihilists" took to politics, Tolstoi takes to literature; but both are the offspring as well as the instrument of the profound religious movement which is now taking place among educated Russians. That the Nihilists themselves would be the very first to scorn the name of religious apostles, or that Tolstoi himself would probably deny that he is as much a sign of the current as a pilot in the current; that educated Russia itself would protest that it is utterly unconscious of any religious fermentation brewing within it (*Sturm und Drang*), is hardly to the point. The future historian of the movement of "Idti v Narod"—to go among the peasants—which is even to-day, after ten years, as much the essence of Nihilism as it was in 1872-6, will have a pretty task before him when he comes to study the relation of Tolstoi to Nihilism, and that of both to the religion of unselfishness, which is the essence of Christianity.

Respectfully,  
IVAN PANIN.  
WELLESLEY, MASS., September 9, 1887.

#### DUKE GEORGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your correspondent in No. 1157 of the *Nation* will find the solution of his puzzle when he remembers that, though Albrecht, Duke of Saxony, father of George, died, as correctly stated, September 12, 1500, he, however, as early as 1488 transferred the reign in Saxony to his oldest son, George. The latter had, therefore, a perfect right to order him a horse in 1499 and make the order as Duke of Saxony.

The letter published by your correspondent and its accidental discovery are highly interesting.—Yours respectfully,  
A. V. WEISE.

SARCOXIE, MO., September 4, 1887.

#### CORNER LOTS AND BARBECUES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The following copy of a post-bill in my possession, which was generally distributed in Kansas City, presents so unique a phase of financial speculation that I send it to you for the benefit of your readers. It deserves to be recorded in the history of finance and speculation:

BARBECUE.  
Mount Wolfson will be sold at Auction  
on  
Thursday, July 28.  
50 foot lots to the highest bidder—one third cash.  
Building loans given if desired.  
Busses will leave \* \* \* 's office at 10 o'clock morning of sale.  
BRASS BAND,  
FREE DINNER,  
FREE RIDE,  
FREE DRINKS,  
DANCING IN THE EVENING.  
Everybody invited.

COLUMBIA, MO., September 3, 1887.

#### "TO CONDONE."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: During the last twelve or fifteen years, the verb "to condone," I have noticed, has often been burdened with a sense which it seems impossible to reconcile with the etymology of the word. Two instances in point I am able to quote, and I might have quoted many more but for an accident to my papers.

Mr. Philip Robinson, in his 'Fishes of Fancy' (1883), writes, at p. 76: "The red Indian . . . deprecates the anger of the eaten thing's relations by formulas of propitiation, and hopes, by post-humous ceremonials of respect to the skull and bones and skin, to condone the consumption of the meat and fat." Again, Mr. Arthur W. Peel, the Speaker of the House of Commons, is reported, in the *Times* of June 24 of this year, as having said on the previous day, in administering an official reproof: "I trust that you will endeavor, for the future, to condone your offence . . . by a steady determination to abstain from any practices of the kind which have brought you under this severe censure." In both these cases, "to condone" is unmistakably used for "to atone," which is very different from "to pardon" or "to overlook," its older sense and its familiar modern sense respectively.

But stranger still is the phrase "to condone with," seen in the following quotation from Mr. Leslie Stephen's 'History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century' (1876), vol. i, p. 273: "In short, the main result of the attack and defence was to lower the general tone of religious feeling, without destroying the respect for established creeds; to make men unwilling to ask awkward questions, and condone with their consciences by not making arrogant assumptions," etc. "Compound with" is the expression for which, apparently, "condone with" is here substituted.—Your obedient servant,  
F. H.

MARLESFORD, ENGLAND, AUGUST 27, 1887.

#### Notes.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co. announce as the next volume in their Commonwealths Series 'Tennessee,' by James Phelan, member-elect from that State of the approaching Congress, and 'Patrick Henry,' by Prof. Moses Coit Tyler, in the Statesmen Series; and 'Franklin,' by J. B. McMaster, and 'Hawthorne,' by J. R. Lowell, in the Men of Letters Series. Their fall list also includes 'The Gates Between,' by Miss E. S. Phelps; 'The Unseen King, and Other Poems,' by Mrs. Caroline Leslie Field; a new edition, enlarged, of Mrs. Margaret F. Deland's 'The Old Garden, and Other Poems'; 'Poems,' by the late

Edward Rowland Sill; 'Bird-Talk,' poems, by Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney; 'Early and Late Poems of Alice and Phoebe Cary,' not included in the Household Edition; a handy little edition of more than sixty 'Lyrics, Idyls, and Romances,' selected from Robert Browning; Longfellow's 'Evangeline' in a new oblong form, decorated with colored leaves from the Acadian forests; Lowell's 'Vision of Sir Launfal,' a holiday volume, with nine full-page illustrations and a new portrait of the author; Whittier's 'Poetical Works,' in a new Riverside Edition, making four volumes, with steel portraits; 'The Princess of Java,' a novel by Mrs. S. J. Higginson; 'Paul Patoft,' by F. Marion Crawford; 'Frontier Stories,' by Bret Harte; 'The Second Son,' by Mrs. M. O. W. Oliphant and T. B. Aldrich; 'Knitters in the Sun,' short stories by "Octave Thanet"; 'The Works of George Peele,' in Bullen's series of the English Dramatists; 'Wit, Wisdom, and Beauty of Shakspeare,' selected by C. S. Ward; 'The Fighting Veres,' by Clements R. Markham; 'The History of Prussia during the Reign of Frederick the Great,' by Prof. Herbert Tuttle of Cornell University; 'The French and English in North America (1689-1763),' being volume five of Mr. Winsor's 'Narrative and Critical History of America'; a small-sized issue, with reduced illustrations, of F. Hopkinson Smith's 'Well-Worn Roads in Spain, Holland, and Italy'; 'Our Hundred Days in Europe,' by Dr. O. W. Holmes; 'Memories of Coleridge,' consisting of letters from Coleridge, Wordsworth and his sister, Southey, and Scott to Sir George and Lady Beaumont, edited by Prof. Wm. Knight of St. Andrews; 'Winter,' selections from the journals of Thoreau; 'Men and Letters,' essays in criticism and characterization, by Horace E. Scudder; 'Henry H. Richardson and his Works,' by Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer, illustrated with thirty full-page views of this architect's buildings, from photographs, a portrait, and minor sketches; a 'Life of Ormsby McKnight Mitchel,' by his son, F. A. Mitchel; 'Three Cruises of the Blake (1877-1880),' by Alexander Agassiz, in two volumes; and 'Roman Excavations since 1871,' by Prof. Rodolfo Lanciani, Director of the Roman Museum.

Lee & Shepard will soon publish a book of verse, 'Meadow Melodies,' by Charles F. Gerry of Sudbury, Mass.

E. P. Dutton & Co. have in press and will publish next month, uniform in size with their edition of Faber's and Newman's Hymns, a volume of Poems by George MacDonald, selected from the four English volumes of his poetry, and for the first time collecting those scattered through his novels.

Prof. Robert Ridgway's 'Manual of North American Birds,' illustrated with numerous full-page plates, and with a portrait of the late Prof. S. F. Baird, will be published directly by J. B. Lippincott Co.

Cassell & Co. have in press Dr. Peter Bayne's 'Martin Luther: the Man and his Work.'

Geo. Routledge & Sons issue this month 'Paul and Virginia,' with illustrations by Maurice Leblond; and the 'Cotillion Almanac for 1888,' a miniature presentment of "the German."

A German Grammar, based on that of Prof. Meissner of Queen's College, Belfast, by Prof. Edward S. Joynes of South Carolina College, is promised directly by D. C. Heath & Co.

T. Y. Crowell & Co. announce 'Uli the Servant,' by Jeremias Gotthelf.

The Herder publishing-house, at Freiburg im Breisgau, has in preparation a work on 'Kanada und Neufundland,' by Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg, freely illustrated, and in very good style, with the aid of American art, to judge from the prospectus. It fills a want, the author thinks, in German geographical literature relating to



foreign parts. Newfoundland will be treated in the fourth and last chapter.

A work growing out of the interest excited in Great Britain for her colonies is an 'Introduction to a Historical Geography of the British Colonies' (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan, by C. P. Lucas, who treats at some length of the four main motives of colonization—love of adventure, desire of wealth, political and social discontent and religion; next discusses the relations of climate and race, the modes of colonization and the classes of immigrants; and finally gives a brief historical account of the various colonies, beginning with those of Phœnicia and ending with the English. The characteristics of the different modern nations are well brought out. It is interesting to note the reasons given for the success of the Dutch, "their strict attention to business, involving dogged maintenance of their commercial monopolies; the rigid supervision kept over their subordinate officers; and the combination, in the case of the latter, of regular payment and systematic promotion with absolute prohibition of private trading." Their decay is attributed to the fact that "their commercial system was unprogressive and unsound." The closing chapter is on the changes in the English colonies in the nineteenth century. There are several maps, but they are on too small a scale to be of much value. This volume is to be followed by others treating of the various colonies in detail.

Half-a-dozen years ago there appeared an aggressive and suggestive book called 'American Whist,' by "G. W. P.," the author of which has now followed it by another book equally aggressive and suggestive, 'Whist Universal: an analysis of the game as improved by the introduction of American leads and adapted to all methods of play' (Boston: Ticknor & Co.). It is not intended for beginners who wish to learn whist—for these Col. Drayson's 'Practical Whist' is incomparably the best book—but for those who play whist and play it well, and wish to play it better yet. In fact, it is a sort of post-graduate course for advanced students. 'Whist Universal' is likely to be a very annoying book to most whist-players, who play by rote entirely and without thinking. One reason for the popularity of whist is that the play has been so systematized that there are rules for almost every contingency; and so great is the average intellectual laziness that most people rejoice to rely on rule, and shirk thinking. To those who really understand the underlying principles of whist, and who like to play with their minds and not with their memories, this book may be most highly commended. "G. W. P." is severe, but not unduly severe, on the chatterers who talk while playing, and on the triflers who are for ever asking to see the last trick, and on certain English writers—Mr. Campbell Walker and Mr. Procter especially—whose alleged whist manuals are incomplete and pretentious, and probably worse than useless.

'The Startling Exploits of Dr. Quib's' (Harpers) is a translation of the latest contribution to youthful literature by M. Paul Célières, 'Les mémorables aventures du Docteur J.-B. Quib's' (Paris: Hennuyer; Boston: Schoenhof). The original has 125 characteristic illustrations by Lix. These have been well reproduced in the American edition, which forms a very handsome and well-printed volume. The translators, Mrs. Cashel Hoey and Mr. John Lillie, have done all in their power to preserve the odd humor of the French, which is at times a little strained. As to the involuntary journeyings of Dr. Quib's, they are brought about in such a forced way, there is such a sameness in his discomforts on being disturbed from his quietude, that a little adaptation and arrangement would have improved the original work. Still, pictures and all, the book pre-

sents a very pleasant view of French provincial life, which will amuse a young reader. By a strange misprint, the name of the author is spelt Célière instead of Célières on the title-page of the American edition.

'Mattie's Secret' (Geo. Routledge & Sons), by Émile Desbeaux, is one of the very numerous attempts to convey knowledge to the youthful mind by means, as it were, of sugar-coated pills. Information is given about such subjects as coal, diamonds, beer, and explosives, in language which has apparently been transferred bodily from some encyclopedia, and with far too few explanations of technical terms. The illustrations are numerous and in many instances very good. The story which forms the sugar coating is, in no invidious sense, thoroughly French in all its characteristics, but is too slight in plot and barren of incident to insure the attractiveness of the book.

'Scapegrace Dick' (T. Whittaker), by Frances Mary Peard, is a tale of the Commonwealth. An English lad, taken prisoner in one of the numerous sea-fights in the Channel with the Dutch, is carried to Holland, where he is apprenticed to an engraver and makes friends with Titus, the son of Rembrandt. Charming pictures are given of the home of this painter, as well as of his friend, Gerard Douw of Leyden. While not strictly an historical story, there is yet considerable history interwoven with the narrative, and so skilfully that the reader can scarcely fail to have his curiosity excited to learn more of those stirring times.

A very good description of a life-saving station on the Atlantic Coast is given by the Rev. E. A. Rand in 'Fighting the Sea' (T. Whittaker). The story does not amount to much, but the reader will get a clear idea of the station-house, the duties of the surfmen, the various kinds of life-saving apparatus and their uses, along with a spirited account of a wreck and the rescue of the crew. If Mr. Rand wrote more carefully and thoughtfully, his work would be greatly improved. As it is, this book shows an advance upon the last of his which we have read.

There is a peculiar charm about Mme. Spvri's 'Swiss Stories' (Boston: D. Lothrop Co.), which both young and old will feel. They are five in number, the first, that of the herdsboy Toni, showing the most originality. Each has to do with the children of peasants, and describes in a quiet but effective manner the hardships and dangers to which they are exposed, and at the same time reveals the devotional spirit and simple piety which characterize them.

Why the Rev. W. W. Tulloch's 'Story of the Life of Queen Victoria, told for Boys and Girls all over the World' should have been thought worthy of an American imprint (A. C. Armstrong & Son) we cannot divine. The fact that it has been "revised by her Majesty" is not decisive. One hardly knows how to characterize the eighth chapter, which is called "Sympathy with Sorrow," and is wholly given up to evidences of the Queen's regret at the death of Principal Tulloch in 1886—one of her chaplains in Scotland—and of his widow. It ends with these words: "Her Majesty has been most graciously pleased to continue the pension enjoyed by the late Mrs. Tulloch to her unmarried daughters."

The sixth annual report of the Dante Society contains a list of additions to the Dante collection in the Harvard College Library, and a Dante bibliography for the year 1886, compiled by William C. Lane.

There is nothing in the body of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for October that has reference to any year later than 1787. Dr. W. H. Eggle concludes his sketches of the members of the Philadelphia Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution. Extracts from Washington's diary while attending the

Constitutional Convention are subsequently printed, such as relate to his fishing excursions having been already anticipated by Mr. Geo. H. Moore. There are very entertaining pictures of Philadelphia society before the Revolution in the letters of Alexander Mackraby to Sir Philip Francis, 1767-1793, of which more are to come. They are well annotated.

*L'Art* for August 1 (Macmillan) has mainly a literary significance, by reason of a temperate archaeological discussion of the authenticity of a *fauteuil* associated with the name of Rabelais in the Museum at Châteauneuf. Much evidence is given of Rabelais's frequenting the departments of Indre and Cher. The chair is figured in the text.

The *Gazette Anecdotique* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles; New York: Dupont) continues to furnish the cream of the literary and artistic news. The last two numbers are specially interesting. The opéra bouffe episode of the Bon-langer letters is all given in a succinct form after a short article headed "La Boulangère," in which there is a list of portraits, songs, placards, etc., to which the disease has given rise; these already number forty-five. Besides the usual short semi-political items which the *Revue* dwells upon with its usual moderation, it contains also just enough about the recent duels, statues, exhibitions, and *concours* of painting, etc. In the number for August 15, the famous little story "Marie, ou le mouchoir bleu," by Rospot, of which many may have heard without ever having had occasion to read it, is reproduced in full.

M. Georges d'Heylli, editor of the *Gazette Anecdotique*, has just published a new edition of his 'Dictionnaire des Pseudonymes' (Paris: Dentu; Boston: Schoenhof). This edition, completely recast, enlarged, and brought down to date, contains only contemporary pseudonyms and more than 5,000 fictitious or real names. It is rich in biographical and anecdotal information in regard to men of letters, so many of whom, in France, write under an assumed name, or at least have more or less altered their own. An alphabetical index at the end makes the work perfectly practical. It is beautifully printed by Jouanast.

M. Paul Janet, in his 'Histoire de la science politique dans ses rapports avec la morale' (Paris: Alcan, 3d ed., 1887), writes at length upon Montesquieu and the great work of his life, the 'Esprit des lois,' which he does not hesitate to call the greatest book of the eighteenth century. M. Janet has placed this portion of his work at the beginning of the new volume published by Delagrave in his 'Classiques Français': 'Montesquieu: Esprit des lois, livre I. à V' (Boston: Schoenhof). To the sixty-six closely printed pages of this introduction he has added about thirty pages of notes, which are models of clearness and conciseness, and as an appendix those books which complete Montesquieu's theory of government, and also those which have had the greatest influence upon the reformative ideas of the eighteenth century. This appendix is an addition to the text of the author of more than twice as much as is required by the official demands for examinations, which the edition is intended to meet. The compact little volume is completed by the "Eloge de M. le président Montesquieu," by D'Alembert, placed at the beginning of the fifth volume of the *Encyclopédie*.

At the head of the article which M. Ferdinand Brunetiere devotes to Montesquieu in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for August 1, he gives the titles of the three works which have appeared this summer almost simultaneously upon that author—M. Paul Janet's, as above, M. Edgar Zévort's (*Leçcène & Oudin*), and M. Albert Sorel's (Hachette); and in his very characteristic introductory paragraph he speaks of the edition of M. Janet, the biography of M. Zévort, and the work of M.

Sorel. To consider M. Janet's luminous exposition of Montesquieu's theories as merely an "edition" for the use of classes however advanced, would be entirely to misunderstand its value, and would probably cause it to be passed over unexamined, as the critic of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* seems to have passed it over, not unnaturally.

The same *Revue*, for August 15, contains the third of M. C. de Varigny's papers on the "Oceania of To-day." He is most entertaining in his description of the Marquesas Islands. The natives of this group, he affirms, tattoo their bodies with designs representing their genealogy and family history. The more complicated and varied the designs, the nobler and more ancient is the ancestry of the person thus decorated. One chief whom he saw was so completely covered with tattoo-marks, even in the armpits and up the nape of the neck, that he was obliged to have a noteworthy event recorded on his tongue, no other place being available. A great obstacle to their civilization arises from their reluctance to hide these highly prized records by clothing. New Caledonia is but briefly treated, the writer being evidently inclined to think that the French policy of colonizing with convicts is a mistaken one. Rabbits and the Chinese are the principal topics discussed in connection with Australia. Following this is a short account of recent events in New Guinea, and the growth of German influence and commerce in these seas.

M. Gaston Paris is now preparing a 'Manuel d'ancien français, XIe-XIVe siècle.' It will contain (1) a sketch of the history of French literature during the period named; (2) a summary grammar of Old French accompanied by the elements of its versification; (3) a choice of texts; (4) a complete glossary of the words contained in these texts. The sketch of the literary history is now in press; the three other parts are in preparation, and will be published in succession, and so that they can be bound in a single volume when completed. Meantime, M. Gaston Paris published in June last parts of this work under the title 'Extraits de la Chanson de Roland et de la Vie de Saint Louis par Joinville' (Paris: Hachette; Boston: Schoenhof). The notes of the Roland are to a great extent literary; those of the Joinville, though more grammatical, explain the usages and ideas of feudal times. The glossaries are very complete and carefully done; the first consists of fifty-five pages, the second of sixty. The whole is preceded by 170 pages of grammatical observations, making the most valuable text-book for Old French that has ever been published.

A national congress of the professors of the Italian universities will be held in Milan September 25 under the Presidency of the Minister of Public Instruction, Signor Coppino. The principal subject to be discussed is the reform of the universities.

—Prof. Alexander Johnston's article on "The First Century of the Constitution," in the September number of the *New Princeton Review*, is instructive in pointing out that "the work of the Convention was mainly that of selection from the provisions of the State constitutions," these provisions having been, in the States, "adequately discussed as well as tested by experiment." Gladstone's remark, that "the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man," is regarded as intimating anything but a compliment to the members of the Convention, as charging them with "having deliberately hazarded the destinies of their country upon the outcome of an entirely new and untried instrument of government." Doubtless English writers have been much disposed to overlook the State constitu-

tions, and to deal with the national instrument as a thing without antecedents. Not only such writers, but many of our own people, will be surprised to see how large a part of the great instrument whose centenary is now at hand is shown by Prof. Johnston to have been drawn from the local constitutions and the colonial experience of our people. The adoption of the United States Constitution is found to be really in the main an illustration of the general political methods of English-speaking peoples, viz: "to allow the institutions of a country to grow up simply and naturally" before fixing them permanently by legislation. It is in ordinary legislative action that Prof. Johnston finds the greatest danger of departure from our political traditions, in the view that sometimes (*e. g.*, in dealing with railroads) it is better to "pass something, anything, and then, by popular pressure here and yielding there, modify the statute itself." And the one point where, so far, there has been the strongest contrast with our traditional method, is thought to lie in dealing with the government of cities. They are deprived by over-legislation of the opportunity to develop natural remedies for the evils which they develop. Of course this is open to the remark that the cities are not merely separate municipalities, but parts of the State; and it is asking much of the State to allow itself to suffer while the city works itself clear of its poisonous matter by secular natural methods.

—Of good right, the rubric Medicine demands by far the largest space in the eighth volume of the great 'Index-Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office' at Washington: 177 columns are filled, though only the subdivision "Naval" has been reached. *Materia Medica* calls for about a third as many. To Man himself are allotted only 19, and even Life gets but 16. Of the parts of the body directly considered between Legier and Medicine, the Liver triumphs in 142 columns, while the literature of the Lungs is satisfied with 84, and of the Lips with 14. Leprosy occupies 22 columns, Lithotomy and Lithotripsy 85. Among the special affections, Measles ranks first with 25 columns, followed by Malaria and Malarial Diseases with 14. Works on Magnetism—or articles (for in the present volume reference is made to 24,174 articles in periodicals, and this is the least number yet)—must be sought for in 23 columns. Among the topical entries, London leads with 35 columns, and Massachusetts comes next with 26. As a rule, the longer book-titles indicate the older books; but there are many exceptions. Their quaintness is often most amusing. We might cite 'A Letter from a physician in the Highlands, to his friend in London, on the subject of a consumptive habit, wherein he demonstrates, etc., etc.' (1747); or 'The extraordinary case of Joseph Lockier, who was struck by lightning, and existed three weeks in a wood near Bath, on water only' (1806); or 'The treasure of health, containing many profitable medicines, . . . with the aphorismes of Hippocrates and Jacobus de Partibus, redacted to a certain order according to the members of mans bodie,' etc. (1535); or 'A pretious pearl in the midst of a dunghill: being a true and faithful receipt of Mr. Richard Mathews's pill,' etc. (1663). Pathologic biography is illustrated by 'Die nervösen Beschwerden des Dr. Martin Luther' and 'La pathologie dans l'histoire: les maladies de Luther.' Professional dissensions are manifested in the 'Trial of William Bushnell, etc., all of Boston, for practising homoeopathy while they were members of the Mass. Medical Society' (1873). But if there is much to entertain the layman who curiously turns these pages, he is also constantly reminded of the enormous and disinterested labor which has gone to the compilation of this monumental

clue to what has been written for the relief of human suffering.

—If it was the first thought of those who attended the meeting of the American Library Association at the Thousand Islands this year, that there was a less eager interest displayed in library matters, a little less of the constant recurrence to library topics in conversation, which has been a marked feature of previous conventions, and undoubtedly is one of the main advantages of gathering librarians together annually—if there was any fear that the Association was going into a decline and here was the beginning of the end, it must have vanished after the first session. The flagging interest revived at once and increased in force with each succeeding day. Even outsiders were drawn into the current, and some who had come merely for the excursion, with the intention of going to one session for decency's sake, were to be seen in the front row at every session. There were, as usual, too many papers, and discussions were cut too short; for discussions, where bright ideas are struck out by the collision of minds, are more suggestive and more impressive than prepared essays. Many little practical details come out sharply stated without amplification, and one may hear the experience of a dozen talkers in the time that one writer would take to develop his thought. But there must be a preliminary paper to set the ideas of the debaters going, as in a drawing-room the conversation is liveliest after the piano-playing begins. And it is probably best that there should be too many papers; for the feeling that there is little time makes each man the more eager to say his say, and compels compact and incisive speech. The convention thus becomes an experience meeting, to the great profit of those who listen. Librarians are usually so overburdened with routine work that to induce them to do anything out of the usual run they need the impulse which comes from finding that other libraries have adopted improvements that would leave their own in the rear. They must have received many such impulses this year, for the practical hints given were numerous—on alphabetizing, book-measuring, business methods, card guards, sale catalogues of duplicates, lettering, map cataloguing, besides the many hints on varied subjects that cropped out in the course of the discussions. No doubt, some were reminded in this way of devices which they had known before and forgotten, perhaps, and many got hints that will repay them for the cost and fatigue of attendance. No very startling heresy was maintained, and there was no heated conflict of opinion. The chief novelties brought forward were the recommendation of pigskin for binding, as more lasting than the other coverings, leather and duck, hitherto considered the best; the proposition to establish State bureaus of bibliography that should suggest the books to be bought by the smaller libraries—the use of their list, however, not to be compulsory. The proposition amounts to somewhat more than the publication for each State of a separate A. L. A. (American Library Association) list of selected current books; but the fact that it is urged in a State where its need seems to be strongly felt is a renewed testimony to the general want of the long-delayed A. L. A. catalogue and its continuations. We must confess that we have not much hope of seeing the want satisfied. Before anything can be accomplished there must be found in some young man a union of enthusiasm, capacity for work, learning, and judgment, that are not often united. The question of the cause and prevention of fires in libraries excited so much interest that a special report upon it was ordered for the next annual meeting.

—The President's address was devoted to an account of the rise and progress in England and



the United States of libraries supported by public taxation. He showed by the example of the Boston Athenæum that a tax-supported library need not kill off the proprietary library in the same city. It would have been well to add, however, that numerous instances show that no proprietary library (mechanics' institute, atheneum, mercantile library) can long support itself in concurrence with a public library unless it is well endowed. The historical element was further represented by sketches of three librarians, Dr. Cogswell, Mr. Jewett of the Boston Public Library, and Mr. Smith of the Library Company of Philadelphia, and by an account of the libraries of Canada, written by the most active of their librarians, Mr. Bain. The close connection of libraries and schools was urged as usual in several papers, and the advantages to be got by the libraries from another educational agent, the newspapers, was frequently insisted upon. A practical example of the similarity of their work was given when Mr. Lurned of Buffalo, an editor and present librarian, read an admirable report on the library architecture of the last two years, worthy to be placed beside the report on classification which he read at Buffalo. Two retrogressive papers described with commendation the British Museum system of press marks, and its method of keeping its catalogue on slips pasted in books. A back current of dissatisfaction with the card catalogue on account of its inconvenience to the user has been manifest for some time. It is possible that this peculiarly American system may be discarded by some libraries for a time; there is a fashion in these things. But we believe its cheapness will enable it to hold its ground, especially in those places where its use is facilitated, as it ought always to be, by a suitable provision of guide blocks. The four papers that excited the most attention were, first, an account of the "Seminary" system of study, with especial reference to college libraries, by Prof. Adams of Johns Hopkins University. It is, of course, an imitation of the *Seminarium*, first introduced in Germany by Prof. Ranke; but, curiously enough, it has strong points of resemblance to the method of interesting scholars in the library worked out independently by Mr. Green at Worcester and adopted by others after him. The second was a description of the Columbia College School of Library Economy by one of the students, Miss Plummer, very interesting and giving a strong idea of the enthusiasm that prevails among the students. Mr. Green's report on the school, by the way, mentioned as its only defect "a certain want of repose—in fact, a feverish atmosphere." The third paper, by Miss Burt of Chicago, though entitled "The Relation of Literature to School Work," was really an attack on written examinations, and had little connection with library economy. It was bright, amusing, but one-sided, with a little straining after effect; yet it deserved that the Association should recommend its publication to the Commissioner of Education. The fourth paper, by Mrs. Sanders of Pawtucket, was an account of her own work as librarian among a manufacturing community, and would be read with pleasure by every one who is interested in civilizing the young and helping the poor, for Mrs. Sanders does not confine herself to ordinary methods, but considers that everything which can effect her purpose is within her province. No city, for instance, has a more effective flower mission than Pawtucket. The good that these and similar agencies do would be sufficient justification for them, but it was interesting to see in her narrative how much they had redounded to the good of the library. It is not often that any pastoral work shows immediate results; but Mrs. Sanders was able to report a drunken man cured by getting him interested in books and reading.

If public libraries, besides being the people's university, can be city missions also, they certainly should not fail to receive public support. The Association meets next year at St. Louis under the Presidency of Mr. Cutter of the Boston Athenæum.

—We have already spoken of the manifesto against Zola which appeared in the *Figaro* of August 18, and which was reproduced in part, with decided approbation, in most of the Paris papers of the following day. To this M. Zola has replied in *Gil Blas*, the paper that is publishing his new story, 'La Terre,' the cause of this sudden outburst of public reprobation; but he has replied in an interview with a reporter from the paper, and in a way that allows him to evade the real points at issue. He only defends himself against the serious accusations that have been made by saying, first, that he does not know the young writers who repudiate his methods; that they are not among his friends, and that if they are his disciples it is without his knowledge or responsibility. Secondly, that it is unjust to judge a work before it is finished, and that one-fourth of 'La Terre' still remains to be published. Thirdly, that what he calls *les incongruités* in that work, which are by no means all for which he has been reproached, have belonged, ever since the time of Rabelais, "de plein droit au comique français," and no one has ever thought of being offended by them. Finally, that he has invented nothing and that his types all exist. His defence, if it can be called one, is so utterly futile that he begins by saying he shall make no reply to the declaration of "ces messieurs," whose opinion he does not care for because he does not know them. The only one, he then says, "que je connaisse quelque peu—mais si peu!" is M. Bonnetain. "Je crois bien qu'il est venu une fois chez moi," to ask a favor of him, and he adds that he met him once afterwards at a dinner given by Alphonse Daudet, "et c'est tout."

—The next day a reply from M. Bonnetain appeared in *Figaro*. "Mais si, mon cher Maître, vous nous connaissez tous!" he says; "we could make volumes of your letters, and we have had the honor of seeing you, of applauding you often than it pleases you to remember," and he even gives a portion of a letter to himself written by Zola in 1883, filled with paternal advice in regard to his literary work, and begging him "de faire simple et de faire tranquille." Such advice, M. Bonnetain adds, he has given to all of them, and he tells us that the title of his own early work, 'Charlot s'amuse,' for which he was prosecuted as being an offence against public morals, though acquitted, was given to it by Zola himself. He adds that this sin of his literary youth has done more to make him known than "beaux et bons livres" have done for his companions, Rensy, Descaves, Margueritte, and Guiches. In a few energetic lines he reiterates the original charges, which he considers fully justified by the "démilence" of Zola, who has nothing to say in defence of the literature of his *décadence*, of 'La Terre' especially, the "malpropretés" of which cannot be excused for aesthetic reasons, since they are lacking completely in artistic treatment, and cannot be sheltered under the mantle of "la vérité quand même," since they are deliberately sought for, born of the imagination of the author, and not of his observation. He speaks with vigor of the uselessness of much of Zola's offensiveness, which could only be justified by necessity, by strict truth of observation, and by artistic treatment. He ends by recalling to mind that in the way of violence and hardihood of language and of situations, and, indeed, of all that he and his friends reprobate in 'La Terre,' he himself began as Zola is now proceeding; that in

renouncing all this he voluntarily gave up the great profits and the great success of his first works, while by a contrary proceeding Zola has continually multiplied the editions of his own novels. To those who wish to pursue this controversy further, we can recommend M. Anatole France's summing up in the *Temps* of August 28.

—Dr. Alexander Schmidt, author of the 'Shakspeare Lexicon,' died in Königsberg, June 27. He was born on Russian territory, of German parents, in 1816. His father not prospering in his profession of medicine sufficiently to maintain a large family, removed to Prussian soil, and died after thirty years' practice as Kreisphysikus, greatly regarded. Alexander Schmidt was the schoolmate of Dr. Hagen, the eminent professor in the Cambridge (Mass.) Museum of Comparative Zoology. He studied philology in Königsberg, became a teacher in Danzig, and in 1855 was appointed Director of the Realgymnasium at Königsberg, an office which he held thirty years. He was a man of extraordinary energy and industry, of high aims, and beloved by all that knew him. The 'Shakspeare Lexicon' appeared in 1874, has lately come to a second edition, and cannot be superseded. It is written in English, and in good English, and will have a much wider use than it could have had if composed in German. Nothing that existed before it is to be compared with it—indeed, the few pages of grammatical observations at the end of the second volume are by themselves of more value than anything that was ever written by anybody else on the language of Shakspeare. Dr. Schmidt also edited 'King Lear,' 'Coriolanus,' and 'Julius Cæsar,' with German notes, and wrote an essay on the Sonnets. Shakspeare was not the only English author that he treated; Milton and Walter Scott received his attention. A very poetical translation of the war songs of the Carlists is spoken of, and no doubt the notices which his death will call forth in Germany will bring out much more. With all this, Schmidt was unweariedly devoted to the interests of the school over which he presided.

#### CABOT'S EMERSON.

*A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson.* By James Elliot Cabot. In two volumes. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1887. Pp. vii, 809.

THE lovers of Emerson have a great happiness in store for them, in the reading of these two handsome volumes. Mr. Cabot has taken a modest view of his duty; he has not attempted an estimate of Emerson or of his just place among the men and the spiritual forces of his generation. He has rightly judged that the time has not yet come for that. Speakers and writers are not wanting who have thought it well to enter upon that topic, but they have seldom had much success in it. Mr. Cabot is no such person. His cool and lucid mind has justified the confidence which Emerson reposed in it, and we have here something very different from the rhapsodies of the Concord "School of Philosophy." Emerson knew just what he was doing when he named Mr. Cabot as his literary executor—a friend of many years, whose severe, accurate, and just habits of mind he greatly valued.

"My object in this book," says the writer, "has been to offer to the readers and friends of Emerson some further illustrations, some details, of his outward and inward history, that may fill out and define more closely the image of him they already have, rather than to attempt a picture which should make him known to strangers, or set him forth in due relation to his surroundings or to the world at large. . . . My aim has been to use these opportunities to furnish materials for an estimate of him, without undertaking any estimate, or interposing any comments beyond what seemed necessary for the better understanding of the facts presented. Where I may

seem to have transgressed this rule, I am in truth for the most part only summing up impressions gathered from his journals and correspondence, or from the recollections of his contemporaries."

What we find, then, in these volumes, is an admirably stated narrative of the facts of Emerson's uneventful life, some account of his ancestry, large extracts from Emerson's journals, "of which there is a full series from his college days [the junior year, 1819-20; vol. i, p. 55] onwards almost to the end of his life," and a considerable number of his letters. Interwoven with these are accounts of Emerson's nearer friends and of his relation to some of the leading events and movements of his time. In touching what used to be known as Transcendentalism, and in considering Emerson's persistent desire and effort to deal with what he called the "Natural History of the Intellect," we have instances of that apparent transgression of his rule not to venture upon any estimate of Emerson, or to interpose any comments beyond what was necessary to an understanding of the facts, which Mr. Cabot lays down in the above-quoted passage from the preface. Such, then, in general, is the nature of these two small octavo volumes.

"He who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem"; so said the great Englishman whose "soul was like a star and dwelt apart." Emerson was of the same mind, and kept this lofty faith through a long life. "I have been entirely free," says now the writer of his life, ". . . from the gravest embarrassment that can meet the biographer of a man of letters who aspired to be a public teacher—I mean the traces of a discrepancy between the teachings and the character." This will not surprise anybody, but it is a beautiful and impressive fact. The testimony is all one way as to the charm and nobility of Emerson's daily walk and conversation. "He was to my senses," said Henry James, the elder (a man who found it hard to understand him), "a literal divine presence in the house with me. . . . No man could look at him speaking (or when he was silent either, for that matter) without having a vision of the divinest beauty." "His most transient guests," said Harriet Martineau in 1835, "owe to him their experience of what the highest grace of domestic manners may be." When he was in England, a dozen years or more afterwards, Crabbe Robinson quoted as "admirably describing" him these other words of Miss Martineau: "There is a vague nobleness and thorough sweetness about him which move people to their very depths without their being able to explain why. The logicians have an incessant triumph over him, but their triumph is of no avail. He conquers minds as well as hearts wherever he goes, and, without convincing anybody's reason of any one thing, exalts their reason and makes their minds of more worth than they ever were before." One of his companions in his journey to California, when he was nearly seventy years old, says the same thing: "It was the behavior of one who really believed in an immortal life, and had adjusted his conduct accordingly; so that beautiful and grand as the natural objects were among which our journey lay, they were matched by the sweet elevation of character and the spiritual charm of our gracious friend."

These impressions of persons who had seen him and felt the pure and subtle charm of his presence are the same in kind with those which affected his readers who had never seen him. For many years his daily mail brought him from far and near the ardent expressions of persons who had been aroused by his writings; in whose hearts they had had the power, as Wordsworth says, of "The Last Supper," in the Refectory at Milan, to

"erase  
(At least for one rapt moment) every trace  
Of disobedience to the primal law";

who had felt as Matthew Arnold did after reading the 'Essays':

"O monstrous, dead, unprofitable world,  
That thou canst hear, and hearing hold thy way!  
A voice oracular hath pealed to-day,  
To day a hero's banner is unfurled."

In these new volumes of the 'Life,' the same feeling will be roused and confirmed; from beginning to end there is the same "open vision of things spiritual," the same aspiring, intrepid soul, the same obedience to the heavenly vision. It was in 1836, at the time of his grand climacteric, that he wrote the poem "Terminus," and sang so nobly, and, it is good to think, so truly:

"As the bird trims her to the gale,  
I trim myself to the storms of time,  
I man the rudder, reef the sail,  
Obey the voice at eve obeyed at prime;  
'Lowly faithful, banish fear,  
Light onward drive unharmed;  
The port, well worth the cruise, is near,  
And every wave is charmed.'"

Emerson was born in Boston on May 25, 1803, his father being the minister of the First Church in that town. He died in Concord, Mass., on April 27, 1882. In these two places (not without a few journeys and an occasional brief stay elsewhere) his whole life was passed. He studied for the ministry, and became in 1829 the colleague of Henry Ware, jr., as minister of the Second Church in Boston, and soon afterwards its sole minister. After a little more than three years he resigned this place in 1832, owing to certain difficulties about administering the rite of the Lord's Supper, and was never again settled as a preacher; although he preached pretty regularly for a long time afterwards (once filling a pulpit for several years), and, occasionally, down to the year 1847. His occupation and principal means of support, after leaving the Second Church, were found in lecturing. Mr. Cabot, in an appendix, has given a list of these lectures, with abstracts of such as have not been printed. They run from 1833 (printed, by mistake, 1832) down to 1881 inclusive, a period of almost exactly fifty years; but after 1872 few, if any, of the addresses were the source of any income. During the settlement over the Second Church Mr. Emerson was married, and also lost his wife, by her untimely death, after about a year and a half, in 1831. She left no children. His wife's estate came to him after her death, and gave him a moderate income. In 1835 he married again, and his wife and three children now survive him. He was obliged to work hard and to practise a strict economy all his life until, in the later years of it, he was relieved through the careful management of his property by his son-in-law and the increased income from his books. His father had died before he was eight years old, leaving the family very poor; so that, in 1814, during the war, when flour was seventeen dollars a barrel in Boston, the family had to retire to the hospitable refuge of the Old Manse at Concord until peace came. While Emerson was in college he was the "President's Freshman," and was also a waiter at Commons. In our later war, in 1862, he wrote to his brother William:

"The 1st of January has found me in quite as poor a plight as the rest of the Americans. Not a penny from my books since last June, which usually yield five or six hundred a year; no dividends from the banks or from Lidian's Plymouth property. Then almost all income from lectures has quite ceased; so that your letter found me in a study how to pay three or four hundred dollars with fifty. . . . I have been trying to sell a wood lot at or near its appraisal, which would give me something more than three hundred, but the purchaser does not appear. Meantime we are trying to be as unconsuming as candles under an extinguisher, and 'tis frightful to think how many rivals we have in distress and in economy. But far better that this grinding should go on, bad and worse, than we be driven by any impatience into a hasty peace, or any peace restoring the old rottenness."

"For the filling of his purse," says Mr. Cabot, "the only means he could invent was lecturing. As his name grew more widely known, . . . he could, with much travelling, collect fees enough to fill the ever-yawning gap betwixt income and outgo, though never much more than fill it. . . . He writes to Mr. Alexander Ireland in 1847 that the most he ever received was \$570 for ten lectures; in Boston, \$50; in the country lyceums, \$10 and travelling expenses. . . . So it came about that all these years in the forties were years of unremitted watchfulness and sometimes anxiety to keep out of debt." April 4, 1840, he writes to his brother William: "I got home yesterday morning. I crowded unto myself on the way home, on the strength of my \$300 earned in New York and Providence. So should I pay my debts. But pride must have a fall: the Atlas Bank declared no dividend; so I find myself pretty nearly where I was before."

Lecturing was often a very laborious and very odious task. In 1839 he thinks that he will never do it after his next course; but "lecture he did every winter but one from the time he came to Concord so long as he was able; gradually extending his field from year to year towards the West." "There was something questionable, if not repugnant, to him in thus bringing his thoughts to market. 'I feel [he writes in his journal] that my life is frivolous and public; I am as one turned out of doors; I live on a balcony or on the street'; and he is constantly resolving to withdraw." "This climate and people [he says of a winter trip to the West] are a new test for the wares of a man of letters. All his thin, watery matter freezes; 'tis only the smallest portion of alcohol that remains good. At the Lyceum the stout Illinoisian, after a short trial, walks out of the hall." Again: "Twas tedious, the obstructions and squalor of travel. The advantage of these offers made it necessary to go. It was, in short—this dragging a decorous old gentleman out of home and out of position to this juvenile career—tantamount to this: 'I'll bet you \$50 a day for three weeks that you will not leave your library, and wade and freeze and ride and run and suffer all manner of indignities, and stand up for an hour each night reading in a hall'; and I answer: 'I'll bet I will.' I do it and win the \$900." This appears to have been in the fifties. He writes in March, 1851, from Pittsburgh, of having spent two nights "in the rail-cars and the third on the floor of a canal-boat, where the cushion allowed me for a bed was crossed at the knees by another tier of sleepers as long-limbed as I, so that in the air was a wreath of legs"; in January, 1856: "A cold, raw country this, and plenty of night travelling and arriving at four in the morning to take the last and worst bed in the tavern." From Michigan, in February, 1860, he writes of riding in a buggy forty-eight miles to Grand Rapids; then, after lecture, twenty more on the "return." In 1867 (being then sixty-four years old) he "had the pleasure of crossing the Mississippi in a skiff with Mr. —, we the sole passengers, and a man and a boy for oarsmen. . . . Much of the rowing was on the surface of fixed ice, in fault of running water. But we arrived without other accident than becoming almost fixed ice ourselves; but the long run to the Tepfer House, the volunteered rubbing of our hands by the landlord and clerks, and good fire, restored us." Emerson found much to compensate him in these journeys; they enlarged his knowledge of men and manners. They must have been of peculiar value in this respect to one whose studies and whose habits of mind would otherwise have kept him too much retired.

Besides this enforced travelling, Emerson went three times to Europe, and twice or thrice made long journeys at home—to Florida soon after it was acquired by our Government; again to the



South with his wife in 1830; and to California in 1871. Several of these journeys were compelled by the condition of his own health. Three or four of his brothers had fallen by the way, one when very young, and two brilliant and most promising men, Edward and Charles, who, after graduating at Cambridge and preparing for the bar, had been carried off by an affection of the lungs. Waldo was also in danger. It seems easy now to see that the hardships of the early life of these children, the rapid and undue development of their intellects ("I found there," says Dr. Furness, "the pressure of I know not how many literary atmospheres"), and the slight attention that seems to have been paid to the physique of children in those days, must have laid the foundation of trouble. Emerson says that the doctor told him, when he was a boy: "You have no stamina." Having entered college at fourteen (not an unusual age then), and graduated in 1821 in a class of fifty-nine, somewhere above the middle of it in rank, and taught school for three years and more, and having then, in February, 1825, entered the Divinity School at Cambridge, he was driven away, in a month, by poor health and failing eyes. He returned the next year, and was "approbated to preach" in October, 1826, and preached his first sermon on the 15th of that month in the church of his uncle, the Rev. Samuel Ripley, at Waltham. Before the year was out he was threatened by disease of the lungs, and was sent to the South in a sailing vessel. He went as far as St. Augustine, and returned in June, 1827, pretty much restored. In 1832, after the separation from his church, his health gave out again, and on Christmas Day he went in a sailing vessel to the Mediterranean. He was at home again, restored, in October, 1833; but as late as 1843 he seems to have been occasionally troubled with "tenderness of the lungs." It was on this journey that he first saw Carlyle. He went through Italy to Geneva and Paris, and then to London. In the same autumn of his return he began his new career as a lecturer. His next visit to Europe, in October, 1847, was in answer to an invitation from his friend Alexander Ireland to come over and lecture; he returned in July, 1848. In October, 1872, after the burning of his house and an illness consequent upon the excitement and exposure that attended that event, he went again to Europe, and even as far as Egypt, and returned, well, in May, 1873.

After his first return from Europe, he seems, for the most part, to have been strong and well. It was his habit to take long walks in the afternoon. "I count myself," says Mr. Cabot, "a good walker, but I used to find myself kept at a stretch when I walked with him in the Concord woods, when he was past seventy. . . . A life so much in the open air no doubt had gradually strengthened an originally feeble habit of body." His eyesight was strong, and "he used no glasses in reading his lectures until he was sixty-four." His preface to Prof. Goodwin's revision of the translation of Plutarch's *Morals*, written in the summer of 1870, is mentioned by Mr. Cabot as being probably "his last effort at composition." He lectured, of course, after this, and *'Parnassus'* was published in 1874, and the volume entitled *'Letters and Social Aims'* a year or two later than that; but the original work in these books and papers was of an earlier date. During the last years of his life Emerson's powers of speech failed him to some extent, and also his memory; but up to the end he never, as the phrase is, had "lost his mind." "A queer occasion it will be [he said, when he was to read a lecture at the Concord Lyceum in 1878]—a lecturer who has no idea what he is lecturing about, and an audience who don't know what he *can* mean."

"To me," Mr. Cabot beautifully says of his later years, "there was nothing sad in his condition; it was obvious enough that he was but the shadow of himself, but the substance was there, only a little removed. The old alertness and incisiveness were gone, but there was no confusion of ideas, and the objects of interest were what they always had been. He was often at a loss for a word, but no consciousness of this or of any other disability seemed to trouble him. . . . He liked, perhaps, to listen rather than to talk. He 'listened and smiled' as a man might who was recovering from illness, and felt himself removed for a time from his ordinary activities; but he often talked freely. . . . In general, his memory of persons was good, even though they might be recent acquaintances. Sometimes there was a strange lapse, as once when I asked him about John Sterling, with whom he had been in correspondence up to the time of Sterling's death. He could not remember to have heard the name."

The very gradual coming on of this state of things is dated by Mr. Cabot from as early a period as 1850 and 1871, the time of Emerson's University lectures at Cambridge. He seems to have undertaken then a work to which, as it proved, he was unequal, the "taking up and completing of his sketches of the 'Natural History of the Intellect,' which he appears to have regarded as the chief task of his life." He did not accomplish what he wished. It may be surmised that neither the thing itself which he had in view nor his own methods were well adapted to a course of academic lectures. At any rate, "the effort of the Cambridge course," says his biographer, "had left a strain upon him from which he never recovered; or perhaps it only betrayed the decline which had already begun." It has been commonly thought that this decline was only manifested after the burning of his house in 1872; and we cannot but think that the reader would get (from the statements on p. 651, for example) the impression of an earlier and more rapid change than actually happened.

Emerson, without having any special skill in the care of money or the management of his affairs, was always careful, exact, and faithful in these matters. Charming pictures are given of his relations to his family. "Here sits Waldo beside me on the cricket," he writes to his wife from his study in 1838. " . . . News comes from the nursery that Hillman has taught him A and E on his cards, and that once he has called T. All roasted with the hot fire, he at present gives little sign of so much literature, but . . . has just now been singing, much in the admired style of his papa, as heard by you only on several occasions." This was the little boy whose death in 1842 was lamented in that lofty rhyme the "Threnody," and of whom he writes to Miss Fuller in 1844:

"My divine temple, which all angels seemed to love to build, and which was shattered in a night, I can never rebuild; and is the facility of entertainment from thought, or friendship, or affairs an amends? Rather it seems like a cup of Soma or Moma. Yet the nature of things, against all appearances and specialties whatever, assures us of eternal benefit. But these affirmations are twit and secular; if spoken, they have a hollow and canting sound. And thus all our being, dear friend, is evermore adjourned. Patience and patience and patience! I will try, since you ask it, to copy my rude dirges to my darling and send them to you."

On the birth of his first grandchild, he writes to his daughter: " . . . Fair fall the little boy. . . . It is long before he will come to himself, but I please myself already that his fortunes will be worthy of these great days of his country; that he will not be frivolous; that he will be noble and true and know what is sacred." See, too, the letter to his daughter at school, on page 489, beginning: "Finish every day and be done with it. For manners and for wise living it is a vice to remember." Even in these domestic letters there is the same high strain of thought and feeling which is found in his essays, which

appeared, indeed, in all his speech, as it appeared also in his looks and his lovely daily manners—so that to see him walking in a city street would sometimes give one a better notion of a truly kingly person than any he had had before—so serene and commanding an expression was in his face, such "looks commercing with the skies." When he writes a lover's song "To Eva," the noble passion of it has in it his deepest philosophy:

"O fair and stately maid, whose eyes  
Were kindled in the upper skies  
At the same torch that lighted mine;  
For so I must interpret still  
Thy sweet doubt in over my will,  
A sympathy divine."

"Ah! let me blameless gaze upon  
Features that seem at heart my own;  
Nor fear those watchful sentinels,  
Who charm the more their glance forbids,  
Chaste glances underneath their lids,  
With fire that draws while it repels."

Emerson had few intimate friends. He was all his life a student and never a man of the world; and he often complains of what he calls his "porcupine manners" with strangers, of his inability to get on easily with people, of the "deoxygenation and asphyxia" that came upon him in large social gatherings. It is probable that Emerson, with his large conceptions of what a man might be, expected of himself on such occasions what others did not expect of him. His own rule and method in conversation was that of nature: "The great mother Nature," he writes to his daughter, "will not quite tell her secret to the coach or the steamboat, but says, One to me, my dear, is my rule also." Henry James, the elder, a robust person, dogmatic, and of a very different fibre, resented Emerson's delicate ways, and speaks of him as keeping "one at such arm's length, tasting him and sipping him and trying him to make sure that he was worthy of his somewhat prim and bloodless friendship." Margaret Fuller also made many a vigorous and direct assault upon his hiding places, but with no success. The only really close and intimate friendships that he seemed to have were with those of his own household (his brothers especially), and one or two others—like Miss Elizabeth Hoar, who had been engaged to be married to his brother Charles, and was really a sister to him, and with Dr. Furness—"oldest friend of all," he writes in 1875, "old as Mrs. Whitwell's school, and remembered still with that red-and-white handkerchief which charmed me with its cats and dogs of prehistoric art, . . . and so on and onwards, but always the same, a small mutual-admiration society of two." "Furness," he writes in 1846, "is my dear gossip, almost a gossip for the gods, there is such a repose of worth and honor in the man." But, of course, as is well known, he held friendly and cordial relations with very many persons, and heartily admired some of these; although, as it is instructive to see, in the case of some of them, with no blind admiration.

Interesting as this memoir proves itself in its details of Emerson's life and habits and daily surroundings, its chief attraction lies in the light which it throws upon Emerson's writings, his aims, and his way of thought. One remarks the quiet and level-headed way in which he settles down before his problems from time to time and looks at them on all sides; his largeness of mind; the persistence of his aims; his secure and absolute faith in the highest doctrine that he inculcates. His journals contain his intimate talks with himself; and in them he discusses the religious questions of his earlier life, the slavery controversy, proposed social reforms, the sayings and the quality of his friends. No one could doubt where he stood upon the issues involved in the slavery question and some other leading reforms of his period. But it is very striking indeed to read his private statements about some of these things. A remarkable letter, "without address or date, but written, I conject-

ture, about 1840" (vol. ii, p. 453), states his general position as to social reform, and is well worth reading. Of a leading abolitionist, he says in his journal, "— is venerable in his place, like the tart Luther; but he cannot understand anything you say, and neighs like a horse when you suggest a new consideration, as when I told him that the fate element in the negro question he had never considered."

He began writing verse when he was a mere child, and while in college wrote a poem for the "Pythologian Society," and also his class poem, "which," says a classmate, not without ambiguity, "was pronounced superior to the general expectation." In his college notebooks he collected phrases "for use poetical." While his main work in life was that of lecturing, yet this, says Mr. Cabot, "was after all a *pis aller*, an expedient, not the mode of utterance to which he aspired. *That* was verse; not so much, I think, from a direct impulse towards rhythmical expression as for the sake of freer speech; because, he says, we may speak ideal truth in verse, but we may not in prose." Had Emerson been free enough from the constant pressure of his bread-winning task of lecturing to cultivate more fully the practice of "rhythmical expression," it may well be doubted, not only whether he would not always have held the form too subordinate to the thought, to reach or long hold the highest regions of poetry; but also whether he had the right temperament, in point of breadth and scope, for the highest success. He was indeed a great and admirable poet in a certain sense, and he often and rightly called himself a poet. But he himself indicates what he means by this. Before his last marriage, in 1835, he wrote to the lady who was to be his wife: "I am born a poet, of a low class, without doubt, yet a poet. That is my nature and vocation. My singing, be sure, is very husky, and is for the most part in prose. Still, I am a poet in the sense of a dear lover of the harmonies that are in the soul and in matter, and specially of the correspondences between these and those." Again, in 1842, he writes to his wife of Horace Greeley and the Socialist, Brisbane: "They are bent on popular action. I am, in all my theory, ethics, and politics, a poet; and of no more use in their New York than a rainbow or a firefly. Meantime," he adds, with a touch of the delightful wit that was always characteristic of him, "they fasten me in their thought to 'Transcendentalism,' whereof you know I am wholly guiltless, and which is spoken of as a known and fixed element, like salt or meal." Again, in his journal, "Expression is what we want. . . . I don't know but I value the name of a thing, that is, the true poet's name for it, more than the thing. If I can get the right word for the moon, or for its manners and influences, the word that suggests to me and to all men its humane and universal beauty and significance, then I have what I want of it." It was a cast of mind, that of the idealist, and a way of dealing with things and with thoughts, that Emerson meant when he talked of himself as a poet; it had nothing to do with what he calls "the tinkling serenader's art." "Study, with him," says Mr. Cabot, "was mainly the study of expression; not the rounding of periods, but the effort to reproduce the impression precisely as it was received. If he was sometimes led astray by what he calls 'the point and surprise of a sentence'—his own or another's—how little he was willing to sacrifice to literary form, is shown by the stumbling-blocks he constantly allowed to remain in his verse. His chief, one may almost say, his sole, aim was to write in close contact with life and reality."

As regards his own style and mode of communicating his thoughts in his formal writing, Mr. Cabot confirms the statements already sometimes made, that Emerson used his journals "as a

quarry," and whenever he had a lecture to write gathered from under the appropriate heads what suited his purpose—passages that had been written when the high mood was on, and which bore what he calls "the essential mark of poetry . . . that it betrays in every word instant activity of mind." This, of course, gave a fragmentary quality to his work. But it is also to be observed that, originally, he probably adopted out of set purpose somewhat of his style and method. He was, as we have seen, "a poet," and so regarded himself; and he sought to convey his thoughts after the poet's method—not indeed, in most of his writings, in rhyme or rhythm, but in ways very different from those of the ordinary philosopher and man of letters. Mr. Cabot says that in June, 1835, he finds in Emerson's journal the beginning of an attempt to expound the First Philosophy—"that is, he says, the original laws of the mind, the science of what is, in distinction from what appears." He gives a specimen of it, and adds: "He did not proceed far with the attempt to write out in plain prose the fundamentals of Transcendentalism. They are to be felt as sentiments, religious emotions, or grasped by the imagination in poetic wholes, rather than set down in propositions. For himself, at any rate, a freer mode of speech was needed. This he attempted in Nature." This "freer mode of speech" was, indeed, prose, but it was a very striking and peculiar form of prose. It addressed the imagination; largely it was written in the mood of the poet, to be read accordingly. And so sometimes the words have a high music of their own. Of the noble lines on "The Seashore," beginning,

"I heard, or seemed to hear, the chiding sea  
Say, Pilgrim, why so late and slow to come?"

we have been authentically told that they were originally written as prose in Emerson's journal at the seashore, without any thought of their having a rhythmical form; and that when it was observed that what was written fell into verse, not more than two or three slight changes were made in arranging it as it now stands. This "freer mode of speech"—now without its own faults and drawbacks—has troubled many people, and even stirred Bishop Whately to open revilings in the preface to his edition of Bacon's Essays, where, without naming Emerson, he makes a series of disjointed, misplaced, and garbled extracts from the Divinity Hall address, and utters amusing heavy-handed and heavy-headed maledictions.

There is very much more which one would like to quote or to make the subject of comment. Let us rapidly note a few things. In speaking to some of his early pupils later in life, he says: "I was . . . already [1821-1824] writing every night, in my chamber, my first thoughts on morals and the beautiful laws of compensation and of individual genius which to observe and illustrate have given sweetness to many years of my life." This was the keynote of very much of his thinking—the observation and noting of the working of the spiritual and moral laws. In 1848, while he was trying to prepare some lectures on "The Natural History of the Intellect," he writes to his wife: "I foresee plainly that the trick of solitariness never, never can leave me. My own pursuits and calling often appear to me like those of an astronomer royal, whose whole duty it is to make faithful minutes which have only value when kept for ages, and in one life are insignificant." He was constantly "soliciting the soul," in search of new manifestations of the invisible Power behind all phenomena, and new illustrations of its operation in man and nature. In the conduct of the intellect, he says, "the ground position is that the intellect grows by moral obedience."

Curious and amusing details of earlier New

England life and politics are found in some of the letters in the first volume, but these we must omit. Emerson's first lectures were on topics connected with natural history. After commenting in one of them on the accuracy and clear discrimination that these studies induce, he adds: "What pity, instead of that equal and identical praise which enters into all biographies and spreads poppies over all, that writers of character cannot be forced to describe men so that they shall be known apart; even if it were copied from the sharp marks of botany—such as dry, solitary, sour, plausible, prosing; which were worth a graveyard of obituaries." Of certain tedious and afflicting persons that flocked to him, he writes in his journal: "Could they not die, or succeed, or help themselves, or draw others, or draw me, or offend me? In any manner, I care not how, could they not be disposed of, and cease to hang there in the horizon, an unsettled appearance, too great to be neglected, and not great enough to be of any avail to this great craving humanity?" "Carlyle, too," he writes to his wife, in describing his London lectures, "makes loud Scottish-Covenanter gruntings of laudation, or at least of consideration, when anything strikes him, to the edification of the attentive vicinity." Of Carlyle's style, he writes in his diary: "O Carlyle, the merit of glass is not to be seen, but to be seen through; but every crystal and lamina of the Carlyle glass shows."

Of Alcott, whom Emerson greatly admired, but with many shrewd qualifications which it is curious to read, Emerson said: "When I go to talk with Alcott, it is not so much to get at his thoughts as to watch myself under his influence. He excites me, and I think freely." "It would be a pity," he said, "if Alcott should survive him, since he alone possessed the means of showing to the world what Alcott really was." At p. 281 one may see the indications of what he would have said.

"The morning," says Mr. Cabot, "was his time for work, and he took care to guard it from all disturbance. He rose early and went to his study, where he remained until dinner time, one o'clock, and in the afternoon went to walk. In the evening he was with his family, sometimes reading aloud, or went to his study again, but never worked late, thinking sleep to be a prime necessity for health of body and of mind. He was a sound sleeper, and never got up at night, as some one has fancied, to jot down thoughts which then occupied him."

But we must stop, for these quotations are already too much extended. And yet many of the chief things which we wished to quote must be left. Mr. Cabot appears to us to have done a difficult task with singular skill and success. The chief regret with which one lays down the book is that he has not given us more; and yet here also we must agree with him, in not carrying the 'Life' beyond its present size. But there are those who crave a sight of all that Emerson has written which is not too sacred for the public eye, and it may be hoped that they will some day be gratified. Emerson's writings have still a great future before them, and all that can throw light upon them has the greatest interest.

#### LORD SHAFTESBURY.

##### II.—HIS WORK.

*The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G.* By Edwin Hodder. 3 vols. Cassell & Co.

LORD SHAFTESBURY was a Peer, a Tory, and an Evangelical; yet Lord Shaftesbury's work was the inauguration of a social revolution. What sounds even stranger is, that his high lineage, his Toryism, and his old-fashioned religious orthodoxy were the causes of his success as a revolutionist.



"The social reforms of the last century have not been mainly due to the Liberal party; they have been due to the influence, character, and perseverance of one man—Lord Shaftesbury." "That," said Lord Salisbury, "is, I believe, a very true representation of the facts." The Duke of Argyll should have restricted his observation to the last "half century"; otherwise we may agree with Lord Salisbury that the Duke's words are in a general way a true representation of the facts. When Lord Shaftesbury began his political career, there were in existence both Tories and Reformers. The Tories, however, were opposed to all great changes, and were still under the influence of the reaction against Jacobinism. Peel was educating or misleading his party, but his followers of 1826 or 1827 agreed with the sentiment of George III., that the British Constitution was "the most perfect of human formations." The Reformers, on the other hand, were Whigs, or men influenced by Bentham. The reforms sought for aimed either at changes in the distribution of political power, or at the removal in all directions of impediments to individual freedom of action. One class of changes may be fairly represented by Lord Russell and the Reform Act, the other class by Cobden and the repeal of the Corn Laws. Lord Shaftesbury had, from position and turn of mind, little sympathy with either political or economical innovation. He opposed the Reform Bill, he disbelieved in the blessings of free trade. There was, however, one kind of improvement which enlisted his sympathies from his earliest years: from the beginning to the end of his career he aimed at protecting by the power of the State any class of human beings—such as lunatics, factory children, boys employed as chimney sweeps—who in his judgment could not protect themselves. To judge from his diaries, the force which impelled him along the path which he found or cut out for himself was compassion for suffering strengthened by a sense of religious duty. It is difficult to see that, when he began public life at least, he had any clear theory of the principles on which the relation of the State to individuals should be regulated. The only thinker who greatly influenced him was a writer whose works would hardly now be known, but for the fact of his having told the life of Nelson and the life of Wesley in a manner which makes it difficult for any one to tell these lives effectively again. Robert Southey's poetry is dead; his speculations on social or political questions are, it may be supposed, mainly known to the majority of readers through a slashing attack of Macaulay's upon 'Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society.' But to judge from the testimony afforded them by more than one biography, Southey's character was far more impressive than his writings, and Southey's views of society, whatever their speculative merits or defects, anticipated ideas which at the present day exert an immense and acknowledged force. Southey, though a Tory, was never a Conservative; he might almost be described as a Carlyle without Carlyle's contempt for humanity and benevolence. His political creed appears to have been that while the educated ought to be the leaders of the people, the power of the State should be used for the benefit of the poorer classes.

A good deal of Southey's opinions was certainly assimilated by Lord Shaftesbury. He no doubt never advocated anything which he himself would have considered, or which could fairly have been represented, as Socialism. But he did altogether repudiate—in practice, at any rate—the theory of so-called *laissez faire*. Hence he came into sympathy with much of the natural, as distinguished from theoretical, Socialism of the working classes. Men whose lives are passed in the midst of toil which, if under favorable circumstances it secures

tolerable comfort, cannot under unfavorable circumstances protect them from want, come sooner or later to feel that mere political or economical reforms do not meet their needs, and that the State ought at any rate to save them from evils (such as constant exposure for low wages to great risks of physical injury) from which they cannot, or think they cannot, protect themselves. Men deficient in education are the more certain to take this view, because they cannot see the indirect ways in which economical reforms, such as free trade, do in the long run alleviate physical misery. To artisans having these feelings, Lord Shaftesbury was a heaven sent leader. He fully believed that law could do much to protect persons, such as factory children, who could not protect themselves; and, as already pointed out, he did not believe in economical reforms such as the introduction of free trade, the theory of which, it must fairly be admitted, he never seems to have studied with any care. Though much, therefore, is said, and rightly said, by Lord Shaftesbury's biographer and by Lord Shaftesbury himself, of the opposition with which he met, he was in reality, like many other reformers, carried along by a stream of feeling of much greater permanent strength than the current of opinion with which he struggled. Whatever judgment be passed upon the merit of the reforms which he advocated, no one can doubt that he really did introduce a fundamental change in the attitude adopted by the State towards classes who are, or seem, too weak to protect themselves in that struggle for existence which is known as competition. It is not too much to assert that every kind of factory, one might say every kind of workshop, has, through the efforts of Lord Shaftesbury, been placed under State supervision. For the theory that every one must take care of himself, has been substituted the theory that the State must protect any one who cannot take care of himself. The adoption of this view, due as it is mainly to Lord Shaftesbury's labors, is a far more important thing, both for good and bad, than his legislative triumphs, great though they were in particular cases. It is a far less important thing to have established machinery for protecting children from being overworked in mills, than to have established the principle that the due protection of classes who are helpless requires that the State should inspect all places where large bodies of laborers are employed.

The principle, indeed, has been given far wider extension than Lord Shaftesbury would at any part of his career have sanctioned. He certainly never contemplated that rule of inspectors which has already commenced and is every day extending its sphere. In practice he was inclined to restrict the intervention of the State to cases in which the persons who ask for protection were, like lunatics or young children, strictly speaking, incapable of guarding their own interests. Not only Lord Shaftesbury's deeds, but the whole language of his diaries, leads to the conclusion that he never meant to help any one who could help himself, or to hold that a man was not bound by a bargain simply because he entered into it at some disadvantage. But the effect of a reformer's action cannot be limited by his own intentions or wishes, and the effect of Lord Shaftesbury's efforts has gone far beyond the ends at which he consciously aimed. Hardly a year now passes during which the English Parliament does not pass acts for the protection of persons, such as sailors or tenants, who are presumed to be unable to manage their own affairs for themselves. The doctrine of benevolent State intervention holds the field; it has for the time almost banished the rival dogma of *laissez faire*. The man whose efforts have mainly achieved this result was, for good or for bad, a revolutionist.

No person, it is true, would have detested the name of a revolutionist more than Lord Shaftesbury. He would have said, and with truth, that he was, from some points of view, a Tory of the Tories, and that no man more distrusted speculative innovation or was more loyal to the Throne and the Church than himself. And in saying this he would have said nothing more than the truth. It is, nevertheless, clear that the character of his mind, no less than his position, greatly aided his effectiveness as a revolutionary innovator. Like all practical men, his main idea was that it was always wise to deal directly with patent evils, without any great thought as to the speculative objections to which the particular mode of dealing might be open. He saw clearly that factory children suffered wrong, and he thought—and in this instance it would seem truly—that State interference with labor would diminish the sufferings of factory children. What he did not see—one may fairly say would not see—was that State interference with labor involved great evil, and that when once the policy of State intervention began, it was very hard to see where it would end. Lord Macaulay in this instance supported Lord Shaftesbury, and Macaulay was certainly not prone to treat with too much consideration views opposed to his own. But whoever will read his excellent speech on the Ten Hours Bill, and compare it with the tone adopted by Lord Shaftesbury about the same measure, will see the whole width of the difference which separates a man of thought from a practical reformer. Macaulay felt at once that the opponents of the bill might oppose it fairly and allege strong grounds for their opposition. It is hardly unjust to say that Lord Shaftesbury thought every one opposed to him guilty either of ignorance or of inhumanity.

From this restriction of view Lord Shaftesbury gained force as a leader, and this in two ways. He was able, in the first place, to treat opposition as a proof of selfishness; he was able, in the second place, to keep out of view the wide principles involved in the Ten Hours Bill. Now the English public are alarmed at principles, but they are pleased with anything which appears to be practical. Hence, at the very time when Maurice and his Christian Socialism were exciting nothing but alarm and meeting with little but denunciation, Lord Shaftesbury's factory legislation met with general approbation. Maurice, however, was a thinker, and thought, as every Englishman knows, is opposed to common sense. Lord Shaftesbury, again, gained weight quite legitimately from his position. How was it possible to suspect a Peer and a Tory of innovation? It was as easy to believe that the worthy clergymen who crowded Exeter Hall every May to hear Lord Shaftesbury read out the reports of half-a-dozen religious societies, were Jesuits in disguise. The disguise, moreover, in this case concealed the character of the man's work as much from himself as from his followers. "Innovation," says Burke, "is not reform." This maxim has long passed into a platitude, but reform is always, in truth, innovation, and Lord Shaftesbury's magnificent series of practical reforms have turned out a body of innovations amounting to a revolution. It is just because he did not see this that he was a successful revolutionist.

#### ADAMS'S PUBLIC DEBTS.—II.

*Public Debts: an Essay in the Science of Finance.* By Henry C. Adams, Ph.D., of the University of Michigan and Cornell University. D. Appleton & Co. 1887.

IN Prof. Adams's chapter on the industrial effects of public borrowing, he analyzes a class of facts extremely recondite, but of the highest impor-

tance in the financial administration of nations. Every country must pay its current expenses, whether for war or for any other purpose, out of its current production. Unless it borrows from other nations, it must pay all its yearly expenses, of whatever nature, from its yearly earnings. Issuing bonds and creating a debt does not absolve it from this necessity. Whether it spends a hundred millions or a thousand millions in a single year, the property must be created before it can be consumed. The accumulations of former years are mainly in the form of fixed capital, not adapted to the immediate purposes of the Government. A year's stock of consumable commodities, domestic animals and other movable things, may be on hand, but seldom more. This stock cannot be much reduced without causing immediate and general distress.

How, then, does it happen that the country is still paying the expenses of the war of 1861-5? If it paid these expenses at the time when they were incurred, is it now paying them a second time? To answer this question, let us ask what would have been the effect if Congress had levied in 1861 the taxes that were imposed in the later years? The proceeds of these taxes amounted in a single year (1866) to the sum of \$558,000,000, a sum greater by nearly \$100,000,000 than the expenditures of the year 1862. It is quite conceivable that the whole cost of the war might have been defrayed by current taxation, in which case there would have been no debt. To accomplish this, it would have been necessary that the magnitude of the war should have been foreseen, and that there should have been a general concurrence in the policy of taxation to meet it; in other words, that the state of the public mind regarding it should have been at the beginning, or rather a year before the beginning, what it was in 1863 and 1864. But this is what did not exist, and could not. Neither the machinery for efficient taxation, nor the disposition to adopt it, existed. Therefore borrowing must needs be resorted to.

What does borrowing signify? What does the use of public credit imply? Let us try first to imagine what would take place if there were no such thing as money, and if the business of the world were carried on by barter. The Government does not want money except as a means of getting property. It wants clothing, arms, ships, provisions, munitions, utensils, etc. Manifestly it must get these things first from those who have stocks of them on hand, and subsequently from those who have facilities for supplying them as fast as the existing stocks are used up—that is, from the possessors of circulating and fixed capital. It is convenient to obtain these things by borrowing money. We could hardly understand how it could be done otherwise in the complex conditions of modern life. But the intervention of money does not alter the essential nature of the transaction, which is the transfer of commodities from the citizen to the Government—commodities either produced before the war or while it is in progress. The reason why we appear to be paying the cost of the war a second time, although it was really paid while the war was going on, is that some persons—viz., the owners of circulating and fixed capital—supplied more of the means for carrying it on than would have been their share if taxation and not loans had been resorted to, and that this excess is now being returned to them. Various economic blunders, and especially the issue of legal-tender notes, served to swell the expense of the war to the taxpayers by nearly one thousand million dollars. This is conclusively shown by Prof. Adams on page 131. This excess of payment over actual cost—the cost being merely the quantities in bulk of property used and consumed—results from the alternate depreciation and appreciation of the standard of value. In

1864 the Government received only fifty cents' worth of goods for each dollar of securities issued. Seldom in the world's history has there been more improvident and wasteful financiering. Yet there has actually been considerable competition among statesmen since the close of the war for the honor of the invention of the greenback, and no little glorification of that instrument as a symbol of patriotism. Prof. Adams is fully justified in his contention that there was no need of legal-tender notes if correct views of finance had been held in the beginning. This brings us to the author's criticisms upon the management of American finances in the wars of 1812-15 and 1861-65; but before noticing these we remark that his subdivision of the industrial effects of public borrowing into three titles, viz., loans placed at normal rates, loans placed at high rates, and loans placed at rates abnormally high, appears to us to be an over-refinement, and not well sustained by the argument.

It will shock the feeling of patriotism to be told that both Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Chase and their coadjutors in Congress held radically wrong notions of the kind of financial administration needed for the carrying on of a war. Both were of the opinion that loans could be relied on, with only sufficient taxation to provide for ordinary peace expenditure plus interest on the debt. The plan broke down disastrously in both cases, although the calamity was more complete and decisive in the first than in the second, because in the latter case it was sooner abandoned, and because, also, the resources at command, when adequate taxation was finally resorted to, were proportionately larger. It is easy to say in defence of both these statesmen that probably nobody else in their time and surroundings would have done better. Nevertheless, Mr. Chase had Gallatin's experience before him, and Mr. Gallatin had a large assortment of financial disasters in the earlier history of the country to serve for his guidance. Therefore neither of them can be wholly absolved. The true policy of a finance minister in the presence of a war of unknown duration and magnitude is to support credit by taxation much greater than annual interest on loans, and, as the war progresses, to avail himself of the rising patriotism of the taxpayers to come nearer and nearer to a realization of the maxim, "Pay as you go"; and this for a great variety of reasons.

In the first place, debt should be avoided altogether if possible; but if it is unavoidable, vigorous taxation enables the Government to borrow on the most favorable terms, and a high public credit thus conserved is itself a most valuable moral agency in stimulating the courage of the people and depressing that of the enemy. Our internal-revenue system did not get into fair working order until 1864. In that year it yielded \$110,000,000, in 1865 \$210,000,000, in 1866 \$311,000,000. If these sums could have been realized two years earlier respectively, "what a change would it have produced upon the financial administration. Its moral effect upon the South, working especially through her European sympathizers, would have brought the war to a more speedy termination, the credit of the Government would not have suffered as it did, while the advocates of legal-tender money would have been deprived of the argument of necessity." This it will be hard for anybody to gainsay. The following application flows naturally:

"The responsibility for the tardy flow of revenue from internal duties is traceable to the policy upon which the finances of the war were set on foot, and not to the inability or the reluctance of the country to pay. Secretary Chase denied the necessity of meeting any part of the war expenditure from war taxes, because the financial theory which he espoused deprecated the endeavor; and it required nearly three years of disastrous trea-

sure management to convert the Administration and Congress from this erroneous theory."

What should be the financial policy of a country after the debt has reached its maximum and the occasion for it has passed away? Should the revenues be applied, as the saying is, to the reduction of taxes, or to payment of the obligations incurred, or both? And what part of the debt should be paid first? There may be some taxes more burdensome than others, some more burdensome than a prolongation of interest payment would be. Such taxes should be removed, even at the expense of a prolongation of the debt; but it is to be observed that classes and interests will always be found insisting that taxes which bear directly on them are the ones whose removal is most conducive to the public good. Payment of the debt is what is really conducive to the public good, and all complaints of special interests against this or that tax should be viewed with suspicion. The first step to be taken, however, is to improve the public credit, in order that conversion or refunding of the debt from high rates of interest to low rates may be effected. To this end it is especially needful that specie payments should be restored, if they have been suspended during the crisis. Therefore irredeemable paper circulating as money should be first attended to. As the issue of such paper has swelled the debt beyond reasonable bounds, the redemption and retirement of it, or the bringing of it to par with gold, is the indispensable step towards reduction of the annual burden of the funded debt. This truth was realized by Congress in 1869, when it passed the "act to strengthen the public credit," but no measure was passed to carry it into effect until six years later.

Prof. Adams places a high estimate, but none too high, on Secretary McCulloch's contraction policy. This was theoretically sound, but politically impossible. The imaginations of the great mass of the people were opposed to it. The plan of Secretary Boutwell, to let the country grow up to the volume of the currency, involved contraction the same as Secretary McCulloch's, but it was not a contraction that could be seen. In point of fact, it did not advance the country perceptibly towards specie payment. Secretary Bristow's plan, to withdraw the legal-tender character of the greenbacks as to future contracts after three years' notice, and to fund them into interest-bearing bonds, was practicable and statesmanlike, but the author upon the whole prefers the plan actually adopted in the Resumption Act of 1875, the principal features of which were free banking, eighty per cent. of greenbacks to be retired simultaneously with the new issues of bank notes, the retention of as many greenbacks as would under no circumstances be presented for payment in specie, and the accumulation of an adequate gold reserve in the Treasury. There is certainly much to be said in favor of this plan, but if Secretary Bristow's plan had been adopted, we should have been spared the last legal-tender decision of the Supreme Court.

Prof. Adams discusses the Refunding Act of 1870, under which the present 4½ and 4 per cent. bonds were issued, and shows that it was based upon a serious miscalculation, resulting in an inexpugnable debt of \$738,000,000 running at 4 per cent. to the year 1907, not to mention the lesser one of \$250,000,000 4½s running till 1891. Here we find, on page 227, a single paragraph (and the only one in the volume) which we are unable to comprehend. It is this:

"It seems, then, that in 1896 the Administration must adopt some other method of paying the debt, or suspend for a term of years the sinking-fund appropriation. To adopt this second suggestion would be for all practical purposes to decide upon the maintenance of a debt of three-quarters of a billion, for taxes once remitted are with difficulty reimposed for the purpose of pay-



ing a debt. Still, it cannot be said that this is a serious criticism of the Act of 1870; the greater blame lies with those who now profess to manage the financial affairs of the country."

It seems to us that those who now profess to manage and who do manage the financial affairs of the country are concluded by the Act of 1870 and the funding operations settled in pursuance of it, having no option or discretion at all, and that no blame can be attached to them. Whoever the galled jade may be, their withers are unwrung.

We have indicated our high appreciation of Prof. Adams's work as a whole. We must dissent, however, and dissent strongly, from his argument in favor of Treasury interference with the money market in times of panic. The plan proposed or approved contemplates that the Government shall convert interest-bearing bonds into legal tender notes at the option of the holders of the bonds, and to the extent desired by them in times of panic. It is consoling to know that such a plan if adopted could last no longer than the public debt lasts. The argument in favor of it is illustrated by the suspension of the Bank Act in England in the crises of 1847, 1857, and 1866—i. e., the authorization of the Government to the Bank to issue notes over and above the legal limit, upon the invariable condition, however, of redeeming them in gold on demand. "It now stands," says the author, "as an unwritten law that the Bank Act shall be suspended whenever demanded by the exigencies of the market." This is surely very loose writing. That there is no such unwritten law is made abundantly clear by the fact that when an attempt was made a few years ago to pass such a law in Parliament, it failed. But suspension of the Bank Act is not the most important part of the proceeding. The question of greatest moment is whether the Bank will avail itself of the authority given. It declined to do so in the panic of 1866, for the reason, undoubtedly, that the condition of things in the panic quarter was thoroughly rotten, and neither worth saving nor susceptible of being saved, although the panic itself was tremendous. This leads us to ask what are in general the "exigencies of the market"? Was the recent Black Friday in Wall Street one of them? Was the panic that set in when Grant & Ward failed in 1884 the right kind of an exigency? Several banks suspended then, and the New York Clearing-house went extensively into the business of settling balances with certificates based upon mercantile paper. Failing to define an exigency or to produce anybody who can, we think that Prof. Adams has here run counter to his own excellent rule to deny everything that cannot be stated with some degree of clearness. The fact is, that exigencies are occurring all the time, and that under any settled plan of the kind suggested the determination of exigencies under every kind of pressure, personal, political, and financial, would wear out the life of any Secretary, and produce more confusion, ten times over, than it would allay. It would be easy, moreover, to show that relief would not be gained in the manner proposed, for the reason that the bondholders are not generally the class who want money in times of panic. The plan failed when tried in 1873, and for reasons quite different from those assigned by the author. "I believe," says the author, "that good government is more likely to be secured by increasing personal responsibility than by restricting the functions of the State within such narrow limits that only men of ordinary strength of character and inferior talent will be drawn to a public career." Now, the kind of character and talent needed in this case is simply superhuman. It is what no man living possesses or ever did possess. We presume that the author himself would hesitate to accept the appointment of

Appraiser of Exigencies or Chief Examiner of Panics—with permanent headquarters in Wall Street.

We have little space left to notice Part 3, relating to State and municipal debts, beyond saying that the treatment of these seems to us less satisfactory than the body of the treatise. The subject is too large to be dealt with as an appendix to National Debts. The tabular statements on pages 378 and 382, showing the constitutional inhibitions on State and local indebtedness, are very instructive, and, for purposes of ready reference, quite invaluable.

#### MEMOIRS OF COUNT BEUST.

*Memoirs of Friedrich Ferdinand Count von Beust*, written by himself. With an Introduction by Baron Henry de Worms, M.P. 2 vols. London: Remington & Co. 1887.

"MEMOIRS" is hardly a correct description of these two portly volumes. They are, rather, a series of desultory comments upon German history during the last half century. With the details of that history Count von Beust is sumes that his readers are already acquainted; and in Germany, perhaps, such an assumption may be reasonable. In all other countries, however, it makes a demand upon the historical information of the "general reader" which assuredly it is quite incapable of responding to. Who but an erudite German professor is able to find his way through the trackless jungles of German domestic history? Who can recall the rulers or even the names of the petty principalities into which Germany was cut up, until the man of "blood and iron" appeared upon the scene? Not the least among the services rendered to humanity by the expulsion of Austria from the German Confederation, and the extinction of that body itself, may be reckoned the simplification of both Austrian and German history for all time to come. Count von Beust, naturally enough, does not appreciate the utterly bewildering character of German domestic politics when viewed by an ignorant spectator from the outside. He has trod those maze paths till every inch of the ground has become familiar to him. He finds it as difficult to lose his way among them as an ordinary man on a straight road. And the consequence is that he almost always writes allusively. He mentions, without explanation or introduction of any kind, scores of German celebrities, who, for the world in general, are as unknown as the brave men who lived before Agamemnon. He refers familiarly to incidents which, outside of Germany, are as clean forgotten as the politics of the globe before the flood.

There is, however, another aspect in which these volumes are amusing and interesting enough. They constitute a remarkable revelation of the way in which a thoroughgoing diplomatist reads and understands the evolution of human history. At the beginning of his *Memoirs* Count von Beust tells the following anecdote of Dresden court life:

"In the first years after 1830, even at court, old things had somewhat yielded to new; and among other innovations guests were allowed to appear at the court balls in trousers. After the marriage above referred to, severer rules were enforced and knee-breeches were revived. On this subject I once said in the presence of the Court Chamberlain, who was otherwise my friend: 'What a good time that was when we were allowed to appear at court in trousers!' He flew at me in a towering passion, and said: 'Trousers! I gave you credit for greater attachment to the royal family.'"

Count von Beust's work in the world was not connected with the regulation of court ceremonial, so he could smile at the spiritual significance discovered by this excellent Chamberlain in the wearing of silk stockings. His work was to draw

up conventions, protocols, identical notes—paper devices of all kinds, having for their object to stereotype for ever the state of Europe as it had been arranged by the Treaties of 1815; and the profundity of his belief in the efficacy of these devices is hardly less astonishing than that of his friend the Chamberlain in the sanctity of silk stockings. The war of Italian Unity, the campaign of Sadowa, the Austro-German war, are thought by ordinary people to have been due to a multitude of slowly converging causes, but mainly to the unnatural and artificial partitioning out of Europe by the sovereigns and statesmen of the Vienna Congress. Count von Beust, for his part, thinks that one and all might have been postponed *sine die* by a slight readjustment of those arrangements; but, unhappily, those directly concerned in these occurrences would not listen to his suggestions. And the reason why he holds this singular belief is, that the peoples of Europe are apparently, in his judgment, "a *quantité négligeable*." They are merely the counters by means of which kings and diplomatists play their games. The destinies of the world are decided by a very few men who meet in ante-chambers, give audiences, and hold confidential communications among themselves. That Count von Beust was a kind hearted, good natured, placable man, there are in these volumes abundant proofs; but sovereigns, statesmen, and diplomatists he would appear to regard as a privileged class, elevated by their position and the august functions which they discharge, into a region where no cold morality reigns. These distinguished creatures may commit blunders; they are incapable of crime. On the other hand, there is a certain satisfaction in learning from Count von Beust's unimpeachable testimony that statesmen and diplomatists are inspired by a genuine faith in the efficacy of their paper contrivances for healing the maladies of suffering humanity. If wars break out, they are not, according to our author, caused by the insufficiency of these paper remedies, but by the perversity of the "peoples," who, like a refractory patient, refuse to accept the prescriptions of their physicians.

The important parts of Count von Beust's public life extend over the years when he was Chief Minister to the last independent King of Saxony, and, after the battle of Sadowa, when, to his own great amazement, he was offered and accepted the post of Chancellor of the Austrian Empire. In both these positions circumstances forced him into an attitude of antagonism to Prince Bismarck. He was the able and determined opponent of the Prussian statesman's design for forcing Austria from the German Confederation, foreseeing, clearly enough, that the autonomy of Saxony was dependent upon the defeat of this policy. The Prussians were aware of this, and when the Prussian troops marched through Saxony, they did the Count the special honor of plundering his house and destroying his furniture, as an evidence of their sentiments towards him. Amid the lesser consequences of the Prusso-Austrian war, not the least gratifying to the victors was, without a doubt, the abrupt ending which it seemed to have inflicted on Beust's career as a power in German politics. He resigned office at the end of the war, in order to facilitate the resumption of friendly relations between Prussia and Saxony; but hardly had the Prussians ceased to congratulate themselves on the occurrence when they saw him rise from momentary eclipse to the brilliant position of Chancellor of the Austrian Empire. Their chagrin was great, and throughout his Austrian career the Count had the honor of being pursued by the invective and calumny of the Prussian official press.

Prince Bismarck figures, in person, in these pages, on not a few occasions. The notices of him are always interesting, and in entire agree-

ment with what has been previously recorded of a man whose strength lies in a stern and unflinching adherence to the maxim that he who wills the ends, wills the means. As an indication of character the following story is worth extracting. It is Bismarck who speaks:

"The three weeks I passed [at Gastein] have left me the most pleasant recollections. We were both staying at Straubinger's Hotel, and saw each other daily. To those whom he likes, Prince Bismarck is the most agreeable of companions. The originality of his ideas is only surpassed by that of his expression of them. He has a spontaneous, and therefore pleasing, bonhomie which mitigates the asperity of his judgment. He spoke a great deal of the French war and of his negotiations with Thiers and Jules Favre. 'The truce was coming to an end,' said Bismarck, 'and I said to Thiers: "Écoutez, Monsieur Thiers, voilà une heure que je subis votre éloquence; il faut une fois en finir; je vous prie de me dire si je ne parlerai plus français, je ne parlerai qu'allemand." "Mais, monsieur," answered Thiers, "nous ne comprenons pas un mot d'allemand." "C'est égal," I replied. "Je ne parlerai qu'allemand." Thiers then made a magnificent speech; I listened patiently and answered in German. He and Favre went up and down the room, wringing their hands in despair for half an hour; at last they yielded, and did exactly what I wanted. Upon this I at once spoke French again.' Bismarck told this story as a capital joke. He seemed to have no suspicion of the want of feeling he showed, not so much in the act itself as in the manner in which he related it, for the two men must have suffered martyrdom in such a critical hour for their country. . . . Two other statements which he made to me about the war were very interesting. The first was that he had opposed the acquisition of Metz because of the disaffection of its French inhabitants, and that he only yielded in consequence of the urgent demands of the military authorities, who said that it would make a difference of a hundred thousand men in time of peace. The other was that the siege of Paris would have had to be abandoned if Metz had held out another month."

Remembering how largely the defeat of Austria at Sadowa was due to the fact that a whole army was employed in the defence of the Quadrilateral, one may surmise that in the end Prince Bismarck will be found to have been more prescient than the generals who opposed and overruled him.

*Norway Nights and Russian Days* By S. M. Henry Davis. Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1887.

THIS little volume comes very near belonging to the class which persons of bibliomaniac proclivities are in the habit of characterizing as "dainty." It would quite deserve that description if the paper were a little heavier and the engravings always as well executed as the subjects of them are well chosen. The literary part of the work is done in a graceful and interesting way, which holds the attention with just about the degree of firmness required by the purposes of a summer-afternoon lounge. What we have in

the book is an account of a "pleasant journey of three women, neither 'lone' nor 'lorn' (which) began the first day of June, 1886." This repudiation of the predicates of "loneness" and "lornness" constitutes about all the personal information we get concerning our travellers. The narrative is as objective as possible, and trips on lightly from point to point, never dwelling long and never making heavy draughts upon the reader's historical or ethnological intelligence. Sometimes the writer's touch becomes so very light and feminine as to be really distressing to one who cannot or will not temporarily lay aside his erudition. Thus, one runs across this on page 21: "Here we first heard the language of Denmark and Norway, rather blunt and unmusical, and with so slight an analogy to any other that memory retains it with difficulty." Then, a few lines below, we have given as a specimen of the "mystic syllables" of this strange tongue the sentence: "Ver saa god luk op døren og luk vinduet igjen," which is explained as conveying no deeper meaning than "Please shut the door and open the window." We do not criticise either the guide-book Danish or the translation, though neither is unimpeachable; but taking the text as given, we ask if this is language which presents but a "slight analogy to any other." Suppose we read: *Were so good, lock up door-(the) else lock window-(the) again.* That is to say, aside from the fact that our English tongue no longer makes an imperative from the root which has given us *were*, every word in the above sentence is a familiar English vocable under a not very opaque disguise.

But we do not press these strictures, since it evidently did not lie in the author's path to go much into Scandinavian philology. For all who care to travel in agreeable company over the now familiar route up the coast of Norway to the North Cape, and then, with Sweden and Finland in parenthesis, through the two chief cities of Russia, Mrs. Davis has written a pleasant and readable book.

*The Ventilation and Warming of School Buildings.* By Gilbert B. Morrison, Teacher of Physics and Chemistry in Kansas City High School. Appleton's International Educational Series. 1887.

IN the general treatment of his subject, mathematical and physical questions are given considerable prominence by Mr. Morrison; *e. g.*, the formulae for different fans for propelling air are discussed, and mathematical estimates of the cost of different systems of heating are given. The author's own system (patent applied for) is also described—which seems a trifle incongruous with the purpose of a normal-school text-book, for which the editor, Mr. W. T. Harris, recommends it. Committees and masters in search of information will find the book useful; it should, how-

ever, be supplemented by some such work as that of Billings, and occasional slips should be guarded against. We must add that it contains a good deal which can be utilized by those who cannot digest mathematics.

*Pocahontas*, alias Matoaka, and her descendants through her marriage at Jamestown, Va., in April, 1614, with John Rolfe, gentleman, etc. With biographical sketches by Wyndham Robertson, and illustrative historical notes by R. A. Brock. Richmond: J. W. Randolph & English. 1887. 8vo, pp. 84.

WE have tried in vain to discover the possible value of this book. The circular speaks of thirty years' preparation for its publication, and we see no traces of the result. The first twenty-three pages are given to a sketch of Pocahontas, but nothing new is related, except possibly the date of her marriage to Rolfe. The author evidently intends to reply to Deane's trenchant criticisms on the fables of Capt. John Smith, but the only result is to make the reader aware that the writer is determined not to admit any evidence opposed to his own prejudices. It is a kindly attempt to reinstate in popular favor an idol evidently hopelessly overthrown. As to the genealogy, it is a mere list of names, with very few dates, and without any attempt at arrangement. The notes are trivial, and of value only to the immediate family.

Issued simply as a family record, the book would take its proper place among the scores annually printed for private circulation. As a contribution to history or to genealogy in its larger sense, it is of no value to any student.

#### BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Adams, Mrs. L. Madelon Lemoine: A Novel. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 25 cents.  
Annuaire des Traditions Populaires. Paris: Maisonneuve & Ch. Leclerc.  
Battles and Leaders of the Civil War. Part 4. The Century Co. 50 cents.  
Bowne, Prof. B. P. Philosophy of Theism. Harper & Brothers.  
Carey, Rosa N. Esther: a Book for Girls. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. \$1.25.  
Charnay, D. The Ancient Cities of the New World. Harper & Brothers.  
Cooper, Sarah. Animal Life in the Sea and on the Land: a Zoology for Young People. Harper & Brothers.  
Hawthorne, J. The Great Bank Robbery. Cassell & Co. \$1.00.  
Heyse, P. The Romance of the Canoness. D. Appleton & Co. 75c.  
Hugo, V. Les Misérables. Part 3. Marius. Wm. R. Jenkins.  
Index-Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office, U. S. A. Vol. 8. Legler-Medicine. (Naval.) Washington: Government Printing Office.  
Jackson, E. P. The Earth in Space: a Manual of Astronomical Geography. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 35 cents.  
Johannot, J. Stories of Heroic Deeds. For Boys and Girls. D. Appleton & Co.  
Jusserand, J. J. Le Roman au temps de Shakespeare. Paris: Delagrave; Boston: Schoenhof.  
Korting, G. Neuphilologische Essays. Heilbronn. Gebr. Henninger.  
Larson, Dr. C. W. Elements of Orthoepey. Ringoes N. J.: C. W. Larson.  
Larousse. Grand Dictionnaire universelle du XIXe siècle. 2e Supplément, fasc. 6 et 7. Boston: Schoenhof.  
Little, Rev. W. J. K. The Broken Vow: a Story of Hero and Hereafter. 2d ed. E. & J. B. Young & Co.  
Rolfe, W. J. Minor Poems of Milton. Harper & Brothers.

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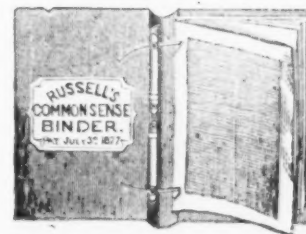
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